

THE AMERICAN NATION

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WORD WARFARE—SOME ASPECTS OF GERMAN PROPAGANDA
AND ENGLISH LIBERTY

THE AMERICAN NATION

A SHORT HISTORY OF
THE UNITED STATES

By
JOHN GLOAG



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JOHN GLOAG.

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WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT AMERICA?

WE know too little in Britain about the life and ideas of the citizens of the United States. Most of us have a superficial familiarity with the externals of contemporary American life ; Hollywood has given us that ; but few people in the mother country have any inkling of the capacity for experiment and the spirit of adventure that Americans possess to such a remarkable degree. For over two centuries American enterprise has been nourished by opportunities for trying out new ideas, and the result is a working democracy that is still growing. The history of the United States from the Declaration of Independence to the signing of the Atlantic Charter is a stimulating and exciting story. The history of most of the forty-eight states of the Union reflects in miniature some aspect of the courageous fight for individual and civic liberty, and illustrates how swiftly development followed exploration.

This book, which was planned in the United States during the summer of 1939, is divided into two main sections, covering the story of the American Nation, and the individual history, political and territorial, of every state in the Union. In these state histories there is inevitably some overlapping. Section I, which contains the story, is only a sketch. It is not a full and detailed history. Much is omitted, and for the serious study of the subject the reader is referred to Volume VII of *The Cambridge Modern History*, which deals exhaustively with the United States, from the first century of colonization to the year 1902, and includes chapters on economic development, and on the intellectual contribution America has made to the world. An impartial and excellent account of the century between 1765 and 1865 will be found in Professor Edward

Channing's *United States of America* (Cambridge University Press). Professor Harold Underwood Faulkner's *Short History of the American People* is also recommended (George Allen & Unwin Ltd.).

In 1918 Cecil Chesterton wrote one of the most readable history books, and his *History of the United States* is enriched with a diversity of opinions and prejudices. (Republished in Dent's Everyman Library.) Another entertaining history is by James Truslow Adams, and is entitled *The Epic of America* (Little, Brown & Company, Boston). A highly detailed work, fully flavoured with prejudices, some of them distinctly anti-British, is published in two volumes under the title of *The Rise of American Civilization*. The authors, Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, are experts in destroying illusions. A third volume, *America in Mid-Passage*, brings their history to 1938. (All published by Jonathan Cape.) The study of American history should be accompanied by reference to that invaluable work, *A Literary and Historical Atlas of America*. (Dent's Everyman Library.)

Fiction provides some illuminating illustrations, for example Thackeray's *Virginians* and the story about Talleyrand's life as a refugee in America included in Kipling's *Rewards and Fairies*. American novelists have been prolific in this field, and Kenneth Roberts has, in three of his romances, touched on three important periods: *North-West Passage*, which is set at the end of the Seven Years' War; *Rabble in Arms*, about the War of Independence, and in particular about the early campaigns conducted by that unhappy man, Benedict Arnold; and *Captain Caution*, which has the War of 1812 as its background. But such novels and stories are reconstructions: they are "period pieces." In the nineteenth century men like Mark Twain and Bret Harte were writing books that had the breath of contemporary life. *Tom Sawyer*, *Huckleberry Finn*, *Life on*

the Mississippi and *The Innocents at Home*, and Bret Harte's sketches and stories of mining camps in the wild west (which was very wild indeed) are historical documents. They are a most agreeable supplement to more serious works on American history.

It is difficult to write without enthusiasm about a country and a people for whom one has the most affectionate regard ; so it may be necessary to say here that this book is not written with any idea of belauding the United States at the expense of Great Britain. Dr. W. R. Inge has said of the War of Independence that "no historical event has ever been so grotesquely and perversely distorted. Not only is every youthful American brought up on a partisan account of what occurred, but the majority of English histories are not much better. It is no doubt very important that we should use friendly language about the United States, but not at the cost of falsifying history and traducing our own ancestors." (*England*, Chapter III.)

Dr. Inge then proceeds to give one of the most embittered and partisan accounts of the birth of the American nation that has ever been committed to paper. Unconsciously he continues a regrettable and ridiculous tradition of sneering at the United States, which from Lord North's Ministry to the present time has invalidated the thinking of some sections of the British governing classes.

Over a century ago that liberal-minded Churchman, Sydney Smith, wrote : "What passes in the mind of one mean blockhead is the general history of all persecution." He was praising the Americans for the steps they had taken to ensure that freedom of opinion was maintained in their country. Unfortunately Great Britain had an abundant supply of mean blockheads to misconduct her colonial affairs in the eighteenth century. The goodwill and loyalty of the colonists were contemptuously snubbed by over-privileged nonentities who were occupying positions of

power merely because they had the good fortune to be born in the right bedroom. Ability was seldom recognized for its own sake in Georgian England. In America, ability could make its way unimpeded by privilege.

The people who say: "My country, right or wrong!" are just as incapable of interpreting history as the semi-intellectuals who say: "My country, *always* wrong!" In the past both America and Britain have, at times, lost their patience and their manners; but the English-speaking peoples have never lost their love of Liberty.

SECTION I. THE STORY

Chapter One

LEGENDS AND EXPLORERS

FOR centuries the Atlantic was the edge of the world. Nothing crossed it from west to east, and in the light of existing general knowledge it was not unreasonable to believe that far beyond the coasts of Europe the ocean poured over that edge in a tumultuous cascade, so that ships venturing towards the sunset would be drawn irresistibly to destruction. In ancient Greece a few educated men thought that the world was round. In the second century B.C., Crates of Mallus designed a globe with an equatorial and a meridional ocean, dividing the world into four quarters, one known and three unknown. The vaguely defined land mass of Europe, Western Asia and North Africa occupied the known quarter; the unknown quarters were labelled Antoecei, Perioeci and Antipodes, roughly representing the positions occupied by South Africa, and North and South America. Such ideas were not widely distributed and for long periods they were forgotten; but legends were always acceptable.

Opposed to the belief of an abrupt edge with a waterfall descending to a fathomless abyss was the theory that the western ocean broke into a fragmentary froth of islands. Support for this view was given during the fourth century B.C., by the voyage of Pytheas of Massilia, a Greek navigator who voyaged to northern Europe and visited the British

Isles. He sailed north from Britain for six days until he reached an island which he called Thule. This may have been Iceland, the Faeroes or the Shetlands.

Earlier, about 500 B.C., Himilco, a Carthaginian, after visiting the western coast of Europe, sailed far into the Atlantic. He may have reached the Sargasso Sea ; but it was not until fifteen hundred years later that the Northmen of Scandinavia crossed the Atlantic by a northern route, reaching Iceland, Greenland and eventually the coasts of Labrador, Nova Scotia, Rhode Island and possibly the mouth of the Hudson. Iceland was extensively settled by A.D. 900. It was first reached by the Northmen fifty years before that date, and at some unknown earlier time a settlement had been made by Irish Culdees, an ancient monastic order with establishments in Scotland and Ireland.

The Northmen were enterprising and courageous savages. About 970 a murderer named Jaederen and his son, Eirik Raude, Eric the Red, also a murderer, were exiled from Norway. They settled in Iceland, where Jaederen died, and Eric, after killing several people, was declared an outlaw in 980. A mariner named Gunnbjörn, whose ship had been driven by accident far to the west of Iceland, had sighted in the remote distance a land with snow-capped mountains ; and in 982 Eric set out to find that mysterious land. It was not only a deliberate attempt at exploration ; it was the last hope of Eric the outlaw and his followers. He reached Greenland and founded settlements. There his four children grew up, Leif Ericsson (who was later called Leif the Lucky), Thorwald, Thorstein, and Freydis, his illegitimate daughter.

By 990 there were two settlements, eastern and western, and over 1,000 settlers. Those European outposts survived for perhaps 500 years. During that time the population rose to 3,000 ; and in the east settlement, Osterbygd, there were eleven churches and a cathedral, a monastery, a

nunnery, and, after 1126, a resident bishop. The last ship from Greenland to Europe reached Norway in 1410, eighty-two years before Christopher Columbus sailed across the Atlantic.

Leif Ericsson made the first recorded transatlantic crossing, sailing direct from Greenland to Norway. In the year 1000 he returned, taking with him a Christian priest, and again making the direct passage without touching at Iceland.

In 1002 Biarni Heriulfsson, whose father was one of the original Greenland settlers, was driven out of his course by storms on a voyage from Iceland to the Eastern Settlement, and far to the west he and his crew sighted land. They were the first Europeans to see the American continent. They made no landing; but their story inspired Leif Ericsson, as the story of Gunnbjörn had inspired his father. He fitted out an expedition, and his long-ship with its crew, thirty-four men and one woman, sailed south-west from Greenland. It is conjectured that they reached Labrador, which they called Helluland; Nova Scotia, which they called Markland; and, rounding Cape Cod, finally landed at Rhode Island, which they called Wineland, because of the wild vines that grew there. They returned to Greenland with a cargo of pressed grapes.

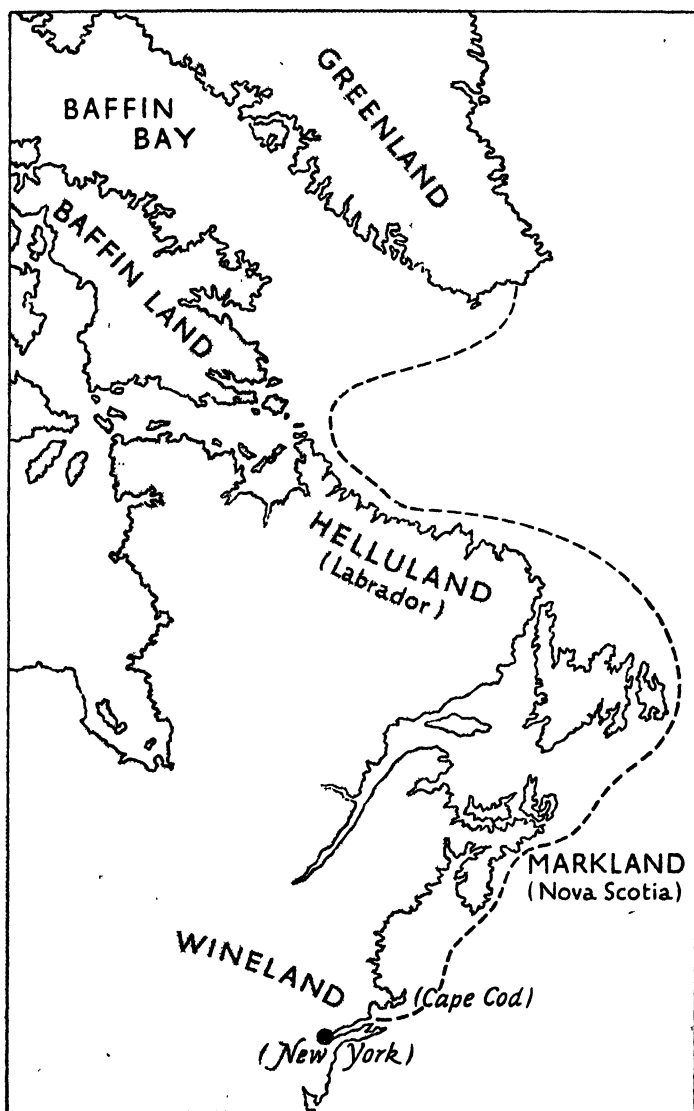
Other expeditions were launched from Greenland, the biggest under Thorfinn Karlsevne, an Icelandic trader, who in 1003 set forth with about 150 men. Leif's brother, Thorwald, and Eric's illegitimate daughter, Freydis, accompanied the expedition. They settled in Wineland, and the first European to be born in America was Snorri Thorfinnsson, the child of Karlsevne and Gudrid. The settlers quarrelled, and some of them returned, and Karlsevne sailed south to the mouth of a great river that may have been the Hudson. Here they settled, and had their first encounter with the natives, the Skraelingr. The natives, who appeared to be Eskimo and not Red Indian in type, were difficult

and uncertain in temper ; and the colonists themselves, though hardy and brave, were unsustained by the virtues and military arts, and the civilized attributes that European explorers were to bring to the conquest and settlement of the Americas five centuries later.

There was one more expedition from Greenland, organized by Freydis, the sister of Leif the Lucky. It ended in crime and disorder, and gave Wineland a reputation for ill-fortune. The impulse to colonize faded. Early in the twelfth century Eric Uppsi, a Bishop of Greenland, sailed in search of Wineland, but never returned. During the time between the last organized expedition and the end of the Greenland settlements, one ship only sailed south to Markland, and returned to Iceland in 1347 with a cargo of timber.

The map of the Atlantic made by Paolo del Pozzo Toscanelli in 1474 ignores the existence not only of that great land mass where Markland and Wineland lay, but of Greenland too. According to this geographer there was nothing but water between the coasts of Europe and Cathay, save a few small scattered islands and the large island of Cippangu (Japan), which he placed partly in the Pacific and partly in Mexico ; but fifty years earlier, Claudius Clavus Swartha at Rome produced a map of the world which extended as far west as Greenland. Before that map was made Madeira had been discovered by the Portuguese in 1419. In 1448 they had made settlements on the Azores.

Christopher Columbus set sail for the west on August 3rd, 1492, in the *Santa Maria*, accompanied by two other ships, the *Pinta* and the *Niña*. None of the three vessels exceeded 100 tons burden. They sighted land on October 12th, an island, which Columbus named San Salvador. A group of West Indian islands was discovered on this first voyage, including Cuba and Haiti. Columbus made three other voyages in 1493, 1498 and 1502. His discoveries were



1. The explorations of the Northmen.

confined to the Caribbean, though on his third voyage he sailed between Trinidad and the South American mainland. On his last voyage he coasted up Central America from a point on the isthmus of Panama to Truxillo in Honduras.

Columbus believed that he had reached the islands off the eastern extremity of Asia; Toscanelli's map would have supported that conclusion; so he referred to his discoveries as the "Indies." The name America was derived from Amerigo Vespucci, a merchant adventurer, who was born in Florence in 1451. He made a great many claims to have taken part in various exploring expeditions; but none of those claims is substantiated. However, a powerful capacity for self-advertisement caused his name to become associated with the north and south American continents; and the name America may owe its popular adoption partly to the fact that its use annoyed the Spaniards, who continued to call their possessions in the New World "las Indias," even when they knew that the width of the Pacific lay between them and the true Indies.

In 1493 Pope Alexander VI, a Spaniard, allotted to Spain all trading and settling rights west of a line drawn from north to south, 100 leagues west of the Azores and Cape Verde islands. The following year this was readjusted to accommodate the protests of Portugal, and the line was moved to 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde islands. This corresponded roughly to the 50th degree of longitude, west of Greenwich, and gave the Portuguese a foothold in Brazil, east of the Amazon's mouth.

In 1497 an English expedition, financed by the merchants of Bristol, and commanded by John Cabot, who like Columbus was a Genoese, reached Newfoundland, and may have touched the North American mainland. Then, with the sixteenth century, came the rush of adventurers to the west. The European nations, inspired by the intel-

lectual revival of the Renaissance, sent not only soldiers and sailors, gold-seekers and traders, but men of learning, men whose minds were lit by the creative curiosity of the true explorer. Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca was an explorer of this calibre. In 1528 he accompanied an expedition from Florida, commanded by Panfilo de Narvaez, and he made his way along the north coast of the Mexican Gulf, striking inland north of the Rio Grande estuary. He travelled for years, north-west to El Paso; and then farther west until, in 1536, he reached the Gulf of California, by the mouth of the River Sinaloa. Here he came in touch with Spanish settlements, and ended his journey at Mexico City.

By 1521 Mexico had been conquered by Hernan Cortes, and its complicated and cruel civilization was destroyed. Three years later the first Franciscan mission arrived, and settlements and missions gradually spread north and west. The country was called New Spain.

In the north-east Estéban Gómez, a Portuguese, had in 1525 probably reached New York Bay; two years earlier the bay and the Hudson River may have been found by the Italian navigator, Giovanni da Verrazano, who in the service of the French king explored the coast from Georgia to Canada. The achievements of these early voyagers are often obscure; sometimes their routes and objectives are recorded; often they are conjectural; but it is known that Jacques Cartier, a French navigator, discovered the St. Lawrence in 1534 and, during his second voyage to North America in 1536, explored it as far as Montreal. Three years later, and some 2,000 miles farther south, Hernando de Soto started on a gold-hunt from Spiritu Santo Bay (Tampa Bay) on the west coast of Florida, and after nearly four years of wandering in the interior he reached the Mississippi. He died by the river in 1542. One hundred and sixty years elapsed before La Salle

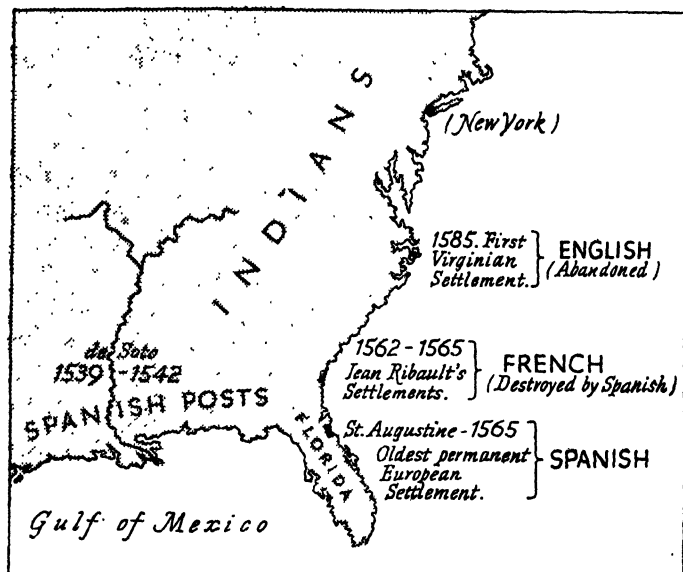
descended the Mississippi from the Illinois River to its mouth. For the rest of the sixteenth century, Spanish, French and English adventurers kept to the east and west coasts of North America, prospecting and staking out tentative claims to strips of territory. Spain was firmly established in Mexico, in Central and in South America. Spain blocked the seaways south, and this encouraged Englishmen to seek another route. The search for the North-West Passage began. In 1527, Robert Thorne of Bristol, who had vigorously advocated seeking for this new sea road, disposed of all doubts and objections in an immortal sentence :

“ There is no land uninhabitable, nor sea innavigable.”

Of that truth, the English voyagers of the sixteenth century furnished abundant and continual proofs.

In the far north, Martin Frobisher discovered Hudson's Straits, and John Davis reached Baffin Bay. (It was not until 1610 that Henry Hudson discovered the great bay that bears his name.) Sir Francis Drake in his voyage round the world sailed northwards in the Pacific almost to Vancouver Island, and then south along the coast of California, where in a bay near San Francisco he repaired his ship, the *Golden Hind*. He named the district New Albion. Other Englishmen—Raleigh, Hawkins, Fenton, Grenville—sailed where they pleased ; trading where Spain declared that all trade but her own was illegal ; at last openly raiding Spanish possessions, and upholding persistently their right to the freedom of the seas.

That right was finally confirmed on July 20th, 1588, when the Spanish Armada was hustled up the English Channel. No power could now dispute England's will to colonize North America.



2. Sixteenth-century settlements, attempted and established.

Chapter Two

THE SETTLERS

RICHARD EDEN in 1555 had suggested that England might acquire the lands that lay between Florida and Newfoundland. The idea was explored in the preface to his translation of Peter Martyr's *Decades*. In 1576 Sir Humphrey Gilbert in his *Discourse* reinforced this proposal, and advocated the transportation of unfortunate people who had been driven to crime by poverty. Richard Hakluyt, writing in 1584, repeats this suggestion while making a case for planting the coast of America between 30 and 60 degrees of northern latitude. Gilbert made two abortive attempts at settlement, and in the second (1583) lost his life.

Sir Walter Raleigh continued Gilbert's work, and in the spring of 1584 sent two small ships, under Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow, with instructions to coast northwards from Florida and seek a location for a colony. This expedition landed at Roanoke Island, off North Carolina, and friendly relations with the natives were established. Queen Elizabeth was pleased with the report made by the captains upon their return. In her honour the new colony was named Virginia. In 1585 Raleigh dispatched a fleet of seven ships to consolidate possession. Sir Richard Grenville, a violent man of action, was in command as admiral, and Ralph Lane was appointed the first Governor.

The results were disgraceful. Grenville treated the natives with severity and injustice ; Lane, when Grenville returned home, devoted his time to gold-hunting, and introduced slavery among the Indians. This avaricious and incompetent governor deserted his post, and with the rest of the colonists accepted a passage home when Drake, returning from his great West Indian raids, called at the colony. Two weeks later Sir Richard Grenville came back to find an empty settlement. He left fifteen men in possession. They were never seen again.

In 1587 Raleigh sent out 150 colonists under Captain John White. (White's granddaughter, Virginia Dare, was the first English child born in America.) White went back to England the same year, but preparations to receive the Spanish Armada held up relief plans, and no ship sailed for Virginia until 1590. By then the colonists had disappeared. In the first decade of the seventeenth century, when Virginia was permanently settled, seven of those original English pioneers were found alive.

In 1607 a colony was established at Jamestown, some thirty miles up the James River. The London Virginia Company had given instructions which advised the colonists

to find out a safe port in the entrance of some navigable river, making choice of such a one as runneth farthest into the land, and if you happen to discover divers portable rivers, and amongst them any one that hath two main branches, if the difference be not great, make choice of that which bendeth most towards the North-west for that way you shall soonest find the other sea.

This was a vigorous hint to explore the hinterland ; but the English and Dutch did not penetrate to any great depth : at its broadest, Virginia was only just over 200 miles from coast to border, so was the Dutch territory, the New Netherlands, while in the north New England extended barely 100 miles westwards from the coast. French trading posts and military stations crept down behind the English

settlements, reaching at last from Canada to the Mexican Gulf and separating Spanish Florida from Mexico, their province of New Spain. La Salle in 1682 sailed down the Mississippi, and in the name of the French king took possession of the immense territory watered by the great river and its tributaries. He called it Louisiana. Its western boundary was vague ; it held a promise of infinite expansion into unknown regions—an irresistible lure for explorers.

For the first few years the Virginian colony just managed to exist. The settlers endured a savagely hard life. The promoting company in London was obsessed with the idea of getting gold out of Virginia ; and only the representations of Captain John Smith regarding the real needs of the colonists suspended the flow of gold-seeking adventurers and their followers and brought instead the skilled craftsmen, smiths and carpenters, whose work was essential. John Smith was a born leader ; a practical man with a powerful imagination. The London Virginia Company demanded gold : instead he gave them maps and invaluable information about the resources and potentialities of the land whose development was the excuse for their existence.

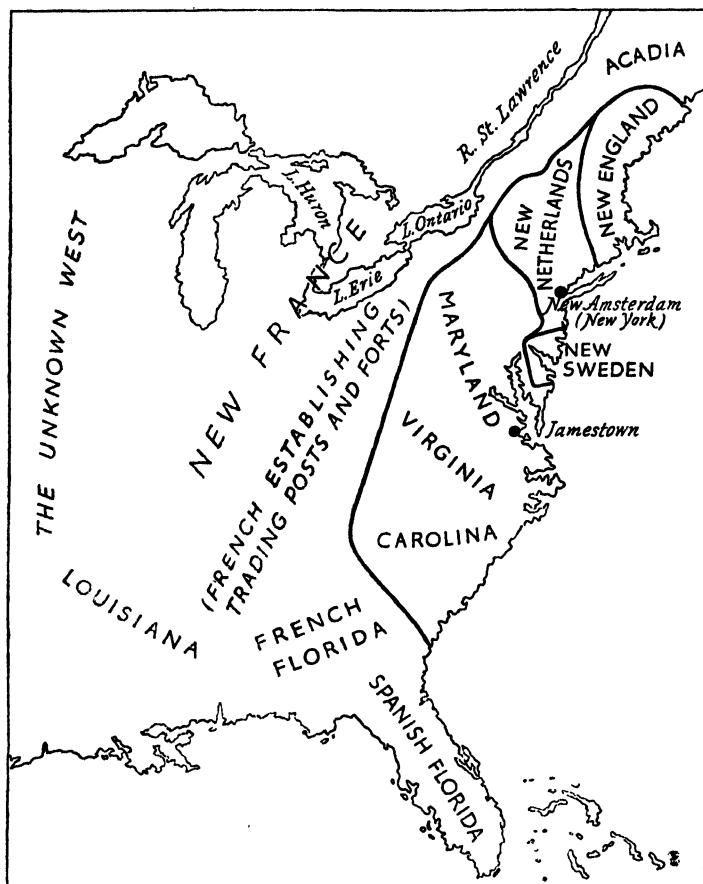
In 1613 the Company sent Smith to New England to prospect for gold. Again he made surveys and maps of the coastline ; and he was eventually appointed Admiral of New England. But he had no connection with the English Puritan settlement made by the "Pilgrims," who in 1620 left their temporary home in Holland, and sailed in the *Mayflower* to Plymouth in Cape Cod Bay. Those stern, godly and industrious settlers suffered and prospered. From their pioneer work arose the colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island and New Hampshire, which were included in the area that was known as New England.

Meanwhile the Dutch, in 1614, had built at the mouth

of the Hudson River on the Island of Manhattan a town which they called New Amsterdam, and had sailed up the river and built Fort Orange on the site of Albany. They claimed a wedge of territory between New England and the colonies of Virginia and Maryland. On the east the New Netherlands was bounded by the Connecticut River, on the west by the Delaware, and 200 miles to the north by Canada. To the south of this Dutch colony a Swedish settlement was presently made around Delaware Bay; but the territory was ceded to the Dutch in 1655. Sweden was too deeply embroiled in European wars to have the energy or the man-power to spare for colonial expansion.

South of Virginia Carolina had, in 1629, been granted by Charles I to Sir Robert Heath, his attorney-general. The territory lay between the 31st and 36th parallels; but it remained unsettled. In 1663 and 1665, Charles II issued Charters, giving this area to the Earl of Clarendon and other friends of the Court, and extending its limits to 29° and 36° 30'. A century earlier an unsuccessful attempt at settlement had been made by French Protestants under Jean Ribaut. The Spaniards could not tolerate the presence of heretics in this region, so the French settlers were butchered, not, as the Spanish authorities were careful to explain, because of their nationality, but because of their religious beliefs. (Map 2, page 13.)

In 1632 Lord Baltimore, under a Royal Charter from Charles I, established the Roman Catholic colony of Maryland, north of Virginia. Until 1689 it was the only colony except Pennsylvania where all sects were tolerated; but after that date the Catholics were forbidden to practise their religion. In New England the creed of Calvin gave a sombre tone to life, and the Puritan settlers whose fathers escaped from persecution in England became experts in the most monstrous forms of persecution themselves. Those unlovable people disapproved of practically every-



3. Mid-seventeenth-century settlements, English, Dutch and Swedish. France is beginning to claim and attempting to occupy the hinterland.

thing that could make life gracious and enjoyable, and they derived a dark satisfaction from the witch-trials, the hangings and the torturings that disfigure the history of the seventeenth century. Yet from that stock came men whose moral fibre enriched the whole colonial community. The Puritans built into the American character some restless and magnificent virtues. Perhaps they deserved Washington Irving's gentle gibe in *Knickerbocker's History of New York*, when he speaks of the Connecticut colonists "who at their first settlement proclaimed, that the colony should be governed by the laws of God—until they had time to make better." Perhaps their self-righteousness would have been moderated had they been close enough to the mother country to be affected by the humanism of Charles II's reign.

In 1650 the boundary of New England had been extended some fifty miles farther west into Dutch territory, and in 1664 the New Netherlands was ceded to England, after the successful conclusion of the Dutch wars. In honour of James, Duke of York, New Amsterdam was renamed New York. The plantation of Delaware, which the Dutch had taken over from Sweden, and the coastal strip between the Delaware River and the Hudson, which became the colony of New Jersey, also came under English rule; so the colonies were now continuous along the Atlantic seaboard, from Carolina in the south, to New England in the north, save for a brief interval in 1673 when Holland temporarily regained her former territory. But the peace of 1674 finally confirmed English possession.

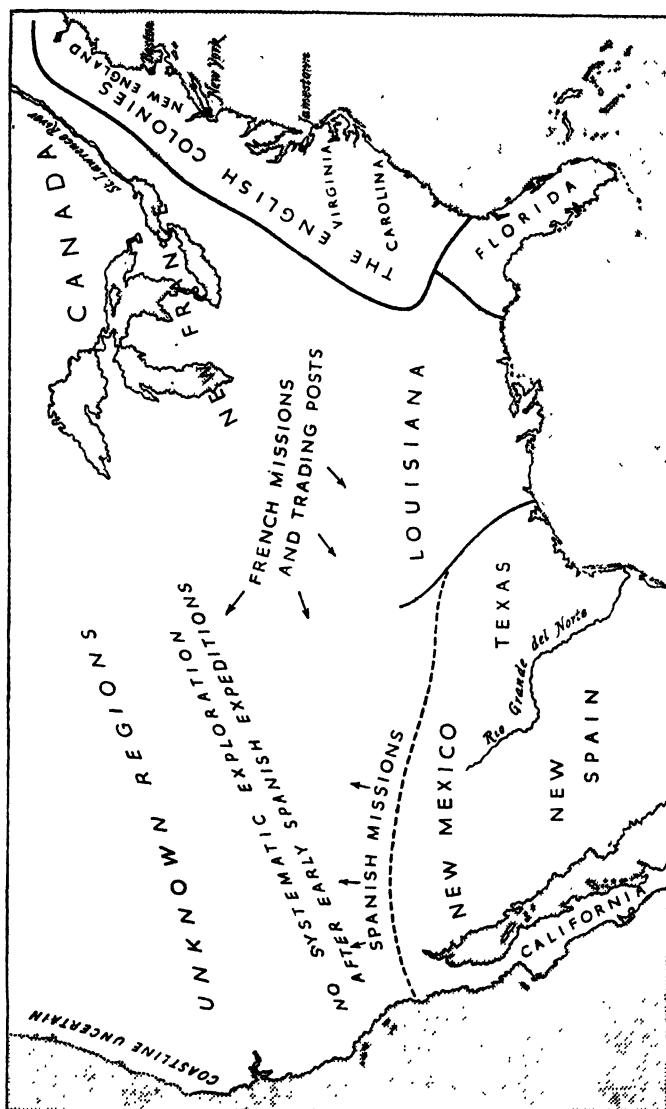
In 1680 Charles II granted to William Penn a Charter for the founding of a Quaker colony, which at the special request of the King was named Pennsylvania, to commemorate the founder's father, Admiral Sir William Penn. Critics of Charles II may well ponder the wisdom he displayed in granting to his Quaker friend such wide powers.

Pennsylvania lay to the north of Maryland and Virginia, west of New Jersey and south of New York. The dispute which arose between Penn's heirs and the Baltimore family, who owned Maryland, regarding the exact line of the boundary, was not settled until a survey was made between 1763 and 1767, when immortality was casually conferred upon the two surveyors, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, who fixed the boundary line at latitude $39^{\circ} 43'$, extending 244 miles west of the Delaware. This was the famous Mason-Dixon line, which was destined to become the division between North and South, free states and slave states. (Map 12, page 141.)

Throughout the century the colonies grew; suffering setbacks, and fighting those first essential battles with Nature that Europe, long settled and civilized, had almost forgotten. What had been done generations earlier in pre-Roman Britain and France had now to be repeated in a land where everything was slightly larger in scale, where rivers were wider and deeper, forests denser, and the insurgent abundance of natural growth more intractable. Gradually the farmers pushed the wilderness westwards, while the trappers and traders found new valleys and streams and lakes, and developed an uneasy commerce with the natives. Towns grew and reflected their national origin in the character of their architecture.

Although the predominant colonial powers were Spain, France and England, all the peoples of Europe were attracted to the land of liberty and opportunity that lay across the Atlantic. The Gold Rush was over. The gentlemen adventurers, out for loot, were replaced by those creators of wealth, the trader, the farmer and the planter.

Tobacco was first brought to Europe in 1558. The plant, known to the Caribbean natives as *cobiba*, was inhaled through a tube called *tabaco*. The name of this pipe was



4. North America at the close of the seventeenth century.

adopted for the plant. Sir Francis Drake and that first, ineffectual Governor of Virginia, Ralph Lane, share the credit of being the first men to bring smoking to the attention of Raleigh, who introduced tobacco to England. Early in the seventeenth century Europeans formed a new habit, and the financial benefit therefrom was shared by London and the tobacco planters of Virginia and Maryland. To avoid competition with the American plantations, tobacco growing was suppressed at home.

England had hoped to find gold in her American colonies : she found instead a new source of wealth.

Chapter Three

DEMOCRACY UNDER THE CROWN

ENGLISH colonists in North America inherited a tradition of free discussion for the ordering of their affairs, and many of their leaders had learnt in the hard school of seafaring the value of democratic comradeship in work. Drake had said, "I must have the gentlemen to hale and draw with the mariner, and the mariner with the gentlemen." Although colonial expeditions were financed from London, and companies like the London Virginia Company assumed responsibility for the administration of the territories they acquired, there was a limit to their capacity for control. There was unending work in conditions of crushing hardship for the settlers, but they enjoyed freedom and the feeling that they were working for themselves, for their families, for their own land. In that new, spacious country, with its extremes of climate and its exhilarating air, pioneers cleared woodland, drained swamps, and conquered land for cultivation.

America has no peasantry. Its people have no connection with mediæval traditions of serfdom and servitude. The white settlers of English, Dutch and Swedish stock were their own masters. The aboriginal inhabitants, the Indians, never became a servile race in North America. Whether they happened to be friendly or ferocious—and with those unstable people the transition from one mood to

another was unpleasantly swift—they were not interested in the hard labour of farming and planting. They were hunters and warriors, and although the tribes raised crops, the practice of their primitive agriculture was left largely to the squaws.

There were two methods of providing additional labour for the colonies. They were essentially undemocratic, and although one was abolished by the War of Independence, the other remained, and made every declaration about human rights and liberty sound like illogical nonsense.

The criminal classes in England provided white bondservants; and hundreds of men who had committed offences which would have brought them to the gallows were instead transported to serve for a term of years in the American colonies. Many of these men were criminals only because they could not fit themselves into the narrow, ordered environment of seventeenth-century England, with its brutal laws for the protection of property. In Elizabeth's reign they would have gone roving on the seas at the expense of Spain; but a term of servitude in the colonies, with the prospect of working for themselves at the end of it, often transformed misfits at home into resourceful pioneers in the New World. Apart from these "indented" servants were Negro slaves. Sir John Hawkins had started a paying traffic in Negroes in the previous century, thus founding a most evil vested interest, which survived in North America until January 1st, 1863, when Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation.

Another and more valuable class of labour was furnished by white persons who volunteered to serve a term of years in America as payment for the cost of the voyage. They were called "Redemptioners" or "Free Willers." At the end of their service the Colony gave them land. This system enabled men who were poor in goods but rich in enterprise to find an outlet for their talents; and it secured

for the colonies a steady flow of independent and industrious individuals, good stock for a working democracy.

The settlers, and the Redemptioners and the bond-servants who had served their terms, were free agents. If they disapproved of the government of their particular colony, they could uproot their interests and live for a time as hunters and explorers, until they found some new place that gave them food and freedom. The colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island were started by men who found the Puritan government of Massachusetts either too stern and saintly, or in other ways too repressive for their comfort. The migrations which led to the growth of other colonies are described in Section II, the history of the individual states, where details are also given of the unremitting vigilance with which the colonists guarded their rights of assembly and discussion. Their resentment quickly flamed into action if those rights were ever threatened by the autocratic decisions of the Crown's representatives. The New England colonies were particularly sensitive about any interference with their ideas of self-government ; but every colony exercised a jealous regard for its freedom as a body, whatever views its leaders and assemblies might have about the allowance of personal freedom individuals might claim. In the name of religion the most barbarous laws and restrictions were upheld ; and they varied from colony to colony, Pennsylvania being considered peculiar because of a liberal, Christian toleration. Penn, its highly-civilized Quaker founder, had established the fundamental rights of free men, afterwards confirmed by the Declaration of Independence and the American Bill of Rights. In Pennsylvania, the right to private judgement, and liberty for all men to worship God in their own way, were permanently secured.

The settlers and the companies financing them obtained charters from the Crown, which established their claim to a particular territory, and guaranteed that no laws would be

passed which departed in principle from those established in England ; that at least was the intention, but the rights of the colonists were unspecified. The chartered colonies were of two types : proprietary provinces, or corporate colonies. The proprietors of a province were really large-scale landlords, and they regarded vast tracts of colonial territory as their private estates, and generally managed them through a proprietary board. A corporate colony was controlled by a company, like the London Virginia Company, or the Massachusetts Company.

Most of the chartered colonies were gradually transformed into royal provinces : this process began in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and it furnished the colonies with a multiplicity of officials appointed by the Crown. The salaries of those officials and of the provincial governors were seldom provided by the Crown, and this occasionally led to friction. There was abundant cause for friction, but until the middle of the eighteenth century comparatively few serious disputes disturbed the colonies.

There were sporadic rebellions. In most of them, the colonists emerged from the struggle with some of their rights curbed, with others consolidated ; but always a little stronger, and less inclined to be intimidated by the authority of the Crown. For example, early in the eighteenth century, South Carolina overthrew the government of the proprietary board. The original proprietors, the Earl of Clarendon, the Duke of Albemarle, and six other favourites of Charles II, had autocratic powers over the Carolinas ; and in 1669 John Locke drafted on their behalf the Fundamental Constitutions, a system of government which was feudal in conception, and destitute of any understanding of the new life that was flourishing in an atmosphere of liberty, equality and enterprise. The colonists blew the mediæval dust from this instrument, and disclosed its naked tyranny. The proprietary board had to revise it,

and it was abandoned in 1693; but although legislative rights were secured for the colonists, disputes were almost continuous, and in 1719 they culminated in a revolution, when South Carolina set up its own government, and elected James Moore as governor. This revolution was supported in England, and the rule of the proprietors ceased, the colony coming under the nominal control of the Crown. Warned perhaps by what had happened to the tactless autocrats of the proprietary board, the governor and council never attempted to interfere with the popular assembly, and by 1760 the governor was merely a rubber stamp and a social asset.

During the first half of the eighteenth century the English colonies extended in area and increased in population. In 1732 Georgia was added, and it placed an ill-defined wedge of territory between South Carolina, Spanish East Florida and French West Florida. It was named after George II. Following the Treaty of Utrecht (1713), the French territory of Acadia or Nova Scotia in the north, which had been captured by the New England colonists in 1710, was ceded to Great Britain. The English colonies were now continuous from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Florida, with a coastline that could be measured only in thousands of miles, while inland lay opportunities that were not susceptible to measurement.

Scattered over this vast area, resourceful and industrious men were developing a vigorous, democratic way of life. Their democracy worked; their independence of spirit grew; England and the English Parliament were far away, and it was not unnatural that the enactments of that Parliament should be resented if they affected adversely the life of the colonies. But the colonists enjoyed the benefits of the English Bill of Rights of 1689, "an act declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the Crown." It formed the plinth upon

which American democracy was built, and most of its fundamental and appropriate provisions were eventually incorporated in the constitution of the United States and also in the individual state constitutions. Among those main provisions were the following :

That the pretended power of suspending of laws or the execution of laws by regal authority without consent of Parliament is illegal.

That levying money for or to the use of the Crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.

That it is the right of the subjects to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.

That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of Parliament, is against law.

That elections of members of Parliament ought to be free.

That freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament.

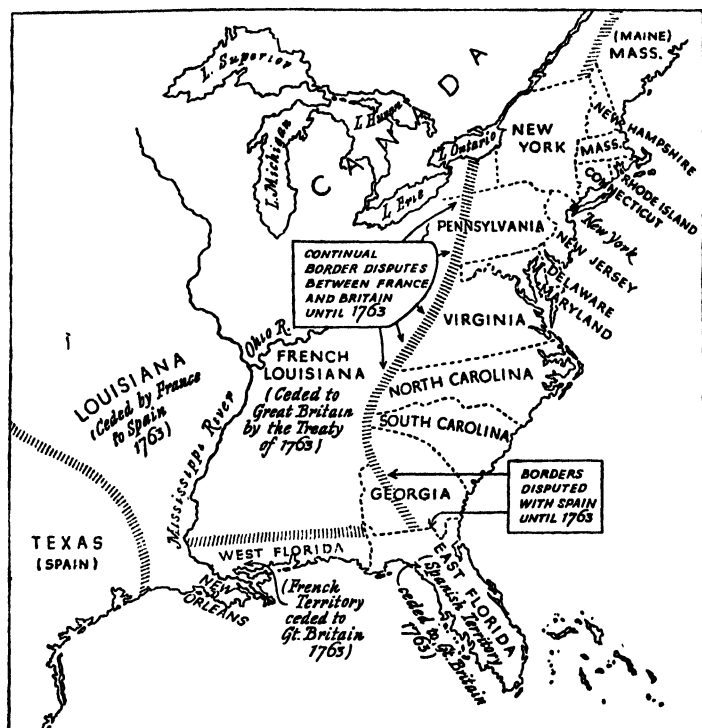
That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

That jurors ought to be duly empanelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trial for high treason ought to be freeholders.

That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void.

And that for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, Parliament ought to be held frequently.

During the eighteenth century some remarkably able jurists distinguished the legal profession in the colonies. These lawyers helped to shape political thought. To a profound knowledge of the Common Law and the constitutional history of England they added a lively and courageous appreciation of the legal, economic and spiritual needs of a growing community. In the words of Professor Edward Channing : " They gave a legal and constitutional cast to the earlier phases of the Revolution. Later, in



5. North America in the mid-eighteenth century.

combination with business men and men of affairs, they elaborated in the most durable and efficient forms the constitutions of the several states, and, later still, the constitution of the nation" (*The United States of America, 1765-1865*). But the ideas of men like Patrick Henry, James Otis, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, would never have achieved such wide, creative expression unless those men had lived in a politically educated community. The colonists discussed everything with the freedom and fluency of people who had never been subdued by an illiberal environment. That habit of discussion persists. From colonial days down to the present time, the village store has been the village parliament. Washington Irving's description in *Rip Van Winkle* of the village politicians solemnly debating the events recorded in an out-of-date newspaper; Max Adler's humorous sketches of the rich, mixed talk of the small communities a hundred years after the War of Independence, dotted about his books, *Elbow Room*, *Random Shots* and *Out of the Hurly-Burly*; Damon Runyon's portrait of the loquacious, small-town newspaper editor in his book, *My Old Man*, all depict a people active in mind, with a liking for the discursive examination of problems, and a fierce independence of outlook. A people, moreover, who by every thought and action fitted John Milton's description of the English: ". . . a Nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit, acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discours, not beneath the reach of any point the highest that human capacity can soar to."

Chapter Four

DEMOCRACY DEFINED

TO-DAY an ungenerous fashion exists for interpreting past events and the actions of great men in terms of the lowest material interests and impulses. An excessive preoccupation with economics may lead to an unintentional disregard of spiritual values, and faith in some particular political system may obscure with incongruous and misleading colours the form of any historical period. In sketching the events that led to the War of Independence it should be realized that differences of opinion about taxation and trade regulation were contributory, not primary, causes in the quarrel.

At first, both in Britain and the Colonies, it was regarded just as a family quarrel ; the sort of grumbling and bickering indulged in by men who are free to speak their minds ; but what was not appreciated by either party was that the men who had the Atlantic between them and the financial corruption and court favouritism of Georgian England, spoke their minds with an altogether new understanding of what freedom meant. English politicians and the nobility and gentry saw only the rich American planters and their black retainers, those merry, contented-looking Negroes who made the institution of slavery seem so commendable and comfortable. They were perhaps inclined to patronize American gentlemen, to regard them

as provincials; and if they thought at all about the Americans who did not own large plantations in Virginia or Maryland, they dismissed them as mere backwoodsmen almost as picturesque as the Indians, but of course socially impossible: perhaps there were a few other people, not the sort one could meet, but attorneys and agents and professional men, who didn't really count. This view persisted among the ruling classes in Britain. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, speaking in the House of Lords on November 20th, 1777, against the employment of Indian mercenaries, made it clear that the American rebellion was not an irresponsible and prolonged riot. If men like George Washington were associated with it, men whose gentility and financial standing were irreproachable, then there was more in it than the commonplace discontent of Jack with his master. In the course of that speech Lord Chatham said:

"America is not in that state of desperate and contemptible rebellion which this country has been deluded to believe. It is not a wild and lawless banditti, who, having nothing to lose, might hope to snatch something from public convulsions; many of their leaders and great men have a great stake in this great contest: the gentleman who conducts their armies, I am told, has an estate of four or five thousand pounds a year: and when I consider these things, I cannot but lament the inconsiderate violence of our penal acts, our declarations of treason and rebellion, with all the fatal effects of attainder and confiscation."

How could those great, sheltered noblemen and gentlemen in England know that there was a new spirit in the New World, and that the English genius was once again asserting its capacity for liberal experiment? In those thirteen colonies a mixed population discovered not only common interests that affected their welfare but a common ideal. By the middle of the eighteenth century the white population

was about 1,200,000, with some 250,000 Negroes. No reliable immigration figures were kept before 1820, but in *The Epic of America*, James Truslow Adams estimates that in the seventeen-fifties and -sixties the white population included some 80,000 Germans and Swiss and about 50,000 Scots and Irish. The Germans and Swiss knew and cared nothing about England; some of the Scots were refugees from the Rebellion of 1745, and at first they formed an embittered minority, though most of them remained loyal to Britain when the colonies rebelled. The Irish for a variety of reasons, temperamental and practical, nourished an implacable hatred for the English. But the indifference of the Teutonic element, and the banked fires of Celtic hate, could not generate the power to drive forward a revolution. Only a creative ideal can inspire a revolution; and although the purity of the ideal may subsequently be lost through military exploitation, commercial expediency, inertia or lack of courage, its initial force can for generations endow a nation with standards which its best men, its leaders of thought, its statesmen, its artists and writers, will strive to express.

Political and economic grievances alone might not have brought the colonies to the point of rebellion. Such grievances existed; some were long-standing; new ones were added as English ministers attempted to enforce the control of Parliament over the colonists. Restrictions on trade were deliberately imposed. In 1660 an Act had been passed whereby the principal products of the colonies could be landed only at British ports. Goods from Europe could be imported only in British or colonial ships, sailing from British ports. In 1733 a duty was imposed on molasses imported from the French West Indies. The export of tobacco from Virginia to Europe was forbidden. The effect of such restrictions was to make smuggling more lucrative than legitimate trade.

In 1764, George Grenville, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed the introduction of a Stamp Act, which required that a stamp should be affixed to agreements made in the American colonies. The measure was passed in the Commons in March 1765 with little debate. It aroused such fury in America that it was repealed in 1766, but at the same time a bill was introduced declaring the legislative supremacy of Parliament. (The significance of this bill was not at first appreciated in the colonies.) The Chancellor of the Exchequer who succeeded Grenville was Charles Townshend, and he attempted to raise revenue by taxing goods imported into America, the taxes to be collected at the place of importation. To tighten up control of the American customs, the Townshend Acts of 1767 provided for a resident Board of Commissioners in the colonies, who would have charge of the customs. Cases arising from the Revenue Acts were to be tried, without juries, in the Admiralty Courts. From the proceeds of the new duties, the salaries of Crown officials and Colonial judges were to be paid.

The colonies, working together through Committees of Correspondence, adopted a policy of non-importation, which was ruinous to English merchants engaged in American trade. This policy soon led to the repeal of the Townshend Acts; but Lord North who had succeeded Townshend as Chancellor objected to the complete repeal of the duties and the tax on tea was retained. A precedent was wanted; and it was wanted by George III. Of this disastrous monarch, John Richard Green wrote: "He had a smaller mind than any English king before him save James II." Lord North, an affable and popular nobleman, could cover the mean structure of Royal ambition with an urbane English façade.

An attempt to compel the colonists to buy tea on which the Parliamentary tax had been paid was the real beginning

of revolutionary action. The tea-duty of 1773 was an indirect form of subsidy for the East India Company; and it was thought that the colonists might welcome tea on which the tax was only threepence; for the government had remitted the twelvepenny inland duty on all tea sent to America. By this means it was hoped to regain the American market for the Company, and to discourage the smuggling of tea provided by the Dutch East India Company; also the threepenny duty would establish a precedent for taxation, paid in the colonies.

The colonists regarded the financial advantages as an attempt to corrupt their principles. They would have none of the tea that was shipped to Philadelphia, Charleston (South Carolina), New York and Boston. At Charleston it was landed under compulsion, stored in a damp cellar and ruined. None was landed at New York or Philadelphia; and at Boston the famous "tea-party" took place, when a body of men disguised as Indians boarded the vessels in the port, and threw their cargoes into the harbour.

The rights and wrongs of these disputes have led too often to the most intemperate expressions of opinion; but when the fathers of the republic recorded their protests, the moderation of their language was commendable. They identified the author of the tyranny which had united their resistance, and in these words set forth their reasons for revolt:—

"The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

"He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

"He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their

operation till his Assent should be obtained ; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

“ He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

“ He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

“ He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

“ He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected ; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise ; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions from within.

“ He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States ; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of New Appropriations of Lands.

“ He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

“ He had made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

“ He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out of their substance.

“ He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures.

“He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

“He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation :

“For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us :

“For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment, for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States :

“For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world :

“For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent :

“For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury :

“For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences :

“For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies :

“For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments :

“For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

“He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

“He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

“He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty

and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

“He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

“He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

“In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

“Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British bretheren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.”

This sober and restrained indictment was preceded by an explanatory statement of principles, which established a new political outlook, and ignored all the existing conceptions of rank and privilege and servitude. It read as follows :

“When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,—That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes ; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufference of these Colonies ; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government.”

Then followed the indictment of George III, which has

already been quoted. This document was drafted by Thomas Jefferson and was adopted by the Continental Congress on July 4th, 1776. It is called the Declaration of Independence. It concluded with a paragraph that, for the first time in the history of civilization, proclaimed the sovereignty of the People :

“We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly Publish and Declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be *Free and Independent States* ; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved ; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.”

Then followed the signatures of the members of Congress, representing the thirteen states.

Democracy had been defined : it had now to be defended.

Chapter Five

DEMOCRACY DEFENDED

WAR was not a new experience for the American colonists. Apart from the incessant troubles with the Indians, the Seven Years' War had provided continuous operations on a large scale in North America. That war began in 1756 and ended in 1763 ; but there had been some preliminary conflicts on the western frontier of the colonies. The French had ejected all English settlers from the Ohio and Mississippi valleys ; and the English had retaliated by driving all French settlers from Nova Scotia. In 1749 the Ohio Company was formed, and this deliberate challenge to the claims of France in the western territories was sponsored mainly by Virginian gentlemen, although John Hanbury, a London merchant, helped to finance the venture. On behalf of the company, Christopher Gist explored the Ohio valley in 1750-51. Traders and explorers, those skilled, determined woodsmen, always eager to push the frontier a little farther westwards, were undeterred by French opposition. It was something to be brushed aside, faced and, if necessary, fought ; as their English forefathers had faced and fought Spanish pretensions to trade and colonial monopolies one hundred and fifty years earlier.

In October 1753 the lieutenant-governor of Virginia, Robert Dinwiddie, sent a formal warning to the French

to keep clear of the recently established English posts on the Ohio. He chose as his agent a young Virginian gentleman, twenty-one years of age, who had left school eight years earlier, and had in that time acquired a considerable knowledge of frontier conditions, for he had held the appointment of public surveyor. His name was George Washington.

Upon his return from this dangerous mission, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of a Virginian regiment, under the command of Colonel Joshua Fry. Most of the Indian tribes, from Canada down to the Mississippi, had been incited by the French to attack English posts and settlements. In April 1754 young Colonel Washington left Virginia for the Ohio in command of two companies, and defeated a mixed force of French and Indians at Great Meadows in western Pennsylvania. Just over a month later he was compelled, at Fort Necessity, to surrender after fierce fighting.

The war was on, the Indians were out, and the home government realized the seriousness of the situation. The colonists alone could not hold the frontier: they had been forced to abandon everything west of the Alleghany Mountains. In February 1755 a British general arrived in Virginia to take command of operations against the French. His name was Edward Braddock, he was sixty, he had experience of siege warfare in Holland, and appeared to have a set, reactionary mind, for he was incapable of understanding the unconventional methods of fighting that made France's Indian allies so formidable. One intelligent action stands to his credit: he gave George Washington an appointment on his staff, with the rank of colonel.

In July Major-General Braddock moved westwards. He had a mixed force of regular troops and colonial militia, and his objective was Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh); but after marching over the mountains and crossing the Mon-



6. The Seven Years' War in North America.

ongahela river on July 9th, the British regulars were confronted with an entirely new form of warfare. They were picked off by Indian sharpshooters, and against these unseen, silent snipers they were helpless. They were not trained for the highly individualistic fighting that the penetration of forests demanded. Braddock and his officers insisted on a parade-ground approach to the operation, and with reckless stupidity led their men to disaster. Colonel Washington, young, wise and experienced in the ways of Indians, saved the force from total destruction and withdrew his Virginian troops in good order. Braddock was mortally wounded during the fighting, and died on July 13th.

The British general's inability to learn and his capacity for disorganization contrasted so vividly with Colonel Washington's qualities as a soldier, that the unfortunate expedition was long remembered by the colonists. A wise order which gave colonial officers equal rank with regular officers mollified the growing resentment which might otherwise have divided the royal and provincial forces with dangerous results. But even the victory won by a very different type of British general, which helped to end French power in North America, could not remove the memory of Braddock's folly. General James Wolfe was thirty-two when he defeated Montcalm, the French commander in Canada, and died at the taking of Quebec on September 13th, 1759. Even the final defeat of France by British naval and military forces could not wholly eradicate the regrettable impression that professional military gentlemen of the Braddock type so frequently create by their resistance to new ideas, or indeed to ideas of any kind.

The colonists had lifelong experience of irregular warfare. Often their survival as individuals and as communities depended upon their skill in woodcraft. Not unnaturally, they felt a little contemptuous of the official

military mind with its barrack-square outlook and its formidable regard for spit and polish. Of what use were stamping feet and gleaming brasswork when silence and concealment were essential in the Indian-haunted woodlands of the western frontier? The colonists had learnt about war in a new, hard and unusual school. The Indians were merciless foes. They seemed to have the souls of tigers rather than of men, and although they were the aboriginal inhabitants of the country they left no mark, contributing little to the ultimate civilization of North America save a few place-names that possess a rich, musical quality. Uncreative, unreliable, but stoical and brave, their history from the Seven Years' War onwards was that of progressive retreat westwards, and still farther westwards—they hovered, murderously resentful, on the frontier, always giving way before the advance of the determined, efficient white settlers.

The Seven Years' War had cost a lot of money, and although colonial troops had been active in the war, the brunt of the fighting and military organization had been borne by the British. Perhaps if the case had been put intelligently to the colonists, they would have recognized the common fairness of sharing the cost of a war that had removed for ever the threat of French aggression. But Grenville, the Chancellor, who might have presented the facts sympathetically, was one of those accomplished lawyers who argue a case instead of facing a situation, and who ignore the human and international implications of what to them is a legal controversy.

Britain was then passing through a period of bad and ineffective government, when statesmen used words to conceal unpalatable facts or to hide a lack of policy. A vexatious restriction regarding the territories taken over from the French, and which came to be called the North-West Territories, accelerated the conflict. Land west of

the Alleghanies was not to be granted to settlers ; it was to be reserved apparently for exploitation by British financial interests. (Section II, Ohio, page 269.)

Various clashes between troops quartered in the different colonies and the civil population led to a situation when it was impossible to placate the growing indignation of the colonists. Admiral Lord Howe sailed for the colonies with a fleet in 1776, to take command of the North American station. He was empowered to treat with the colonists, with whom he was in sympathy. As a sailor he might have achieved some form of reconciliation : too often Britain left the smoothing of administrative difficulties to Army men, generally selecting for that purpose professional soldiers of choleric temperament and narrow outlook. (General Gage was one of these unfortunate selections, and his conduct was unforgettably stupid and malicious.) Lord Howe, with his brother, General Sir William Howe, arrived after the Declaration of Independence had been signed, and although a committee was appointed by Congress to discuss the possibility of a peaceful settlement, the break had been made. The Americans could never resume their colonial dependence. Britain had to realize that she was now fighting not rebellious colonies but a young nation eager for freedom.

The war began in Massachusetts in April 1775. General Thomas Gage, the military and civil governor of the province, was disturbed by the growing hostility of the population, and decided to seize all arms in the eastern districts. He was not successful, but he persevered, and hearing that military stores had been accumulated at Concord, a small town some twenty miles from Boston, he sent a detachment of troops there on April 19th. The countryside had been warned of the approach of these troops, by Paul Revere, who rode at midnight from Charlestown to Lexington. The British were intercepted

at Lexington Common by "Minute Men," as some sections of the colonial militia styled themselves, because they were ready to turn out at a minute's notice. There was bloodshed, and the British troops marched on to Concord to find that most of the munitions had been removed. They were attacked there by militiamen, and they returned to Boston through a country that was alight and alive with hostile forces. Some survivors reached Boston, and the colonial troops began a siege of that city. They were encamped at Cambridge, and the Second Continental Congress which met at Philadelphia in May appointed George Washington to the supreme command of the American forces in June. He took command of that raw, undisciplined, unorganized army at Cambridge on July 3rd.

Before this the first serious conflict of the war had taken place near Boston on June 17th. It was called the battle of Bunker Hill. The British attacked and took a fortified position, losing nearly 1500 men, while the Americans lost only 441. This gave General Gage a taste of the quality of American resistance, and to the American troops it gave confidence, although they lost one of their leaders, General Joseph Warren.

The fortunes of the war swayed first to one side and then to the other. The earlier operations were inconclusive. Britain had embarked on hostilities without adequate preparation, without plan, and without the wholehearted support of the country. She was unfortunate in her selection of generals; she was not fighting for a cause in which her people could take pride, nor for any principle that could inspire her armies. She was compelled to supplement her military effort by employing Indians and by hiring German mercenaries. During the war she transported to America nearly 30,000 of these hired troops.

Much has been written about these German mercenaries, and some of the early American propaganda about their

ferocity and barbarous conduct still clings ; but Congress certainly did not regard them as undesirable specimens of humanity, for in 1776 it approved a resolution, which had been drafted by Franklin, Jefferson and John Adams, offering land to any officers and men from the Hessian forces who cared to desert. They were described as " Hessians," but actually they came from six German states : Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Hanau, Brunswick, Anspach-Baireuth, Anhalt-Zerbst and Waldeck. 16,992 came from Hesse-Cassel, and 2038 from Hesse-Hanau. Of the total of 29,867 sent to America,, only 17,313 returned to Germany. The rest were killed, or remained as citizens of the United States.

From the beginning of the war to its humiliating conclusion, the British commanders under-estimated the tenacity and fighting powers of their opponents. They conducted their operations in an area that was over a thousand miles long from north to south, watered by deep rivers, broken into ragged fingers of coastline, with the sea running far inland, darkened by forests and walled on the west by mountains. Their operations lacked coherence, and the generals were from the outset hampered by a persistent illusion that they were fighting individual colonies. Apparently no plan for dealing with the war as one large military problem was ever considered. Lord George Germain, an agreeable nobleman of proved incompetence, was responsible for the direction of the war in England. He was the third son of the first Duke of Dorset, and he had a military career which ended in a court-martial in 1760 at which he was pronounced as " unfit to serve his Majesty in any military capacity whatsoever." Fifteen years later he became secretary of state for the colonies in Lord North's administration.

Of the British generals in the field, Lord Cornwallis was the most able, for he occasionally displayed initiative ; but

he was subordinate to Sir Henry Clinton, who did not favour consistent activity. General Gage, finally discredited by Bunker Hill, was replaced by Sir William Howe, who believed in caution and comfort, which caused him to ignore many opportunities. John Burgoyne, in many ways a remarkable character, never seemed to grasp the peculiar conditions imposed by the nature of the territory. All these men were brought up in the parade-ground tradition; they could not evolve a technique of war to suit either the country or the tactics of their opponents. The colonists they persistently despised as armed rabble, clod-hopping farmers and backwoodsmen, just as equally thick-headed British officers some hundred and twenty years later at first despised the Boer farmers.

The British troops behaved magnificently. They were wasted needlessly, burdened with unsuitable equipment, repeatedly sacrificed; but in spite of bad leadership the British forces did achieve some military successes.

The effectiveness of the British armies in America was greatly reduced when France became an ally of the United States in February 1778. That complete command of the sea, so essential to the welfare of any British expeditionary force, was now threatened by a French fleet, based on the West Indies. Spain also declared war on Britain, and a combination of "non-belligerents," consisting of Denmark, Holland, Sweden and Russia, watched the conflict, ready to pounce upon the carcass of the British Empire, for all Europe confidently expected a swift and fatal collapse of Britain's power.

The fatuous ambitions of George III and the subservience of his ministers had brought against Great Britain the united hostility of the world. Anger with the French at their attempted stab in the back rallied British public opinion in support of the war, and even liberal-minded people were surprised that the young republic, dedicated

to the proposition that all men were created equal, should have accepted help from the corrupt and oppressive Bourbon monarchy. Of that association Lord Chatham said: "America and France cannot be congenial; there is something decisive and confirmed in the honest American, that will not assimilate to the futility and levity of Frenchmen."

But the United States welcomed the help in men, money and munitions that France was willing to provide. In 1776 Benjamin Franklin, Silas Lee and Arthur Deane had been received in Paris as commissioners, and the French Government was very accommodating in the matter of supplies. But they waited until a notable American victory occurred before committing themselves to an alliance; and it was the disaster to the British forces under Burgoyne at Saratoga in the autumn of 1777 that brought France into the war early the following year.

Although they had allies, the Americans won the War of Independence by their own efforts. In Washington they had a leader whose quality as a man was so remarkable, that he was outstanding even among those men of great moral and mental stature, who were the fathers of the republic. He had an inspiring and steadfast honesty of purpose; his courage was inflexible and constant; his judgement was firm and clear, and he possessed vast reserves of common sense and a mind that was strong and uncomplicated. Upon his shoulders rested the whole responsibility for the conduct of the war, and neither defeat nor victory diminished his powers of concentration or the coolness with which he exercised them. He was respected, trusted, and, in due time, almost worshipped; but his head was never turned and his work was never neglected.

The American generals were quite a different breed of men from the aristocratic professionals who led the British armies. Of these perhaps the greatest was Benedict

Arnold, who was a fine leader and a soldier of genius. In 1779 charges of misconduct were made against Arnold, and presented to Congress. They were concocted by his enemies, and although Arnold demanded a court-martial, months passed before the court sat; and its verdict amounted to an acquittal, but to placate the political interests which had initiated the charges, Congress instructed Washington to reprimand Arnold. Although Washington did so with the utmost tact, Arnold was so embittered that he went over to the British, and in 1781 left America and lived in London. It has been suggested that Arnold's decision was influenced by a fear that France might ultimately control the United States, and that he joined the British as the lesser of two evils. But his renunciation of his country robbed the Americans of a daring and inventive general.

Nathanael Greene, the son of a Quaker farmer in Rhode Island, was not only a successful commander; he became, at Valley Forge, Washington's quartermaster-general. He conducted that difficult task with great ability, and only resigned when the United States Treasury Board began to interfere obstructively with army administration.

Anthony Wayne was another of Washington's generals, who was happily unhampered by preconceived notions of how war should be conducted. Of all the American generals, Horatio Gates was the least satisfactory: he was a mean-minded egoist, jealous of other men, and even cowardly. From France, came the Marquis de La Fayette, a wealthy young nobleman, nineteen years old, who gave his services to America six months before his country officially sided with the United States. In Washington he found a lifelong friend, and when France came into the war, La Fayette returned to his own country for a few months where his representations were of great help to the American cause. He was not a great soldier, but he

was a competent general. A Prussian veteran, Baron von Steuben, was appointed inspector-general; and he was instrumental in improving the discipline of the permanent American army, the Continental Line as it was called.

The American officers were able and reliable men; many of them had seen service in the French and Indian wars. They knew what they were fighting for, and so did the men they led, and from Bunker Hill until the final action at Yorktown in 1781, their confidence in their leader and the rectitude of their cause never wavered. Even during the terrible winter of 1777-78, when Washington's army of some 10,000 men was encamped at Valley Forge in Chester county, Pennsylvania, and clothing, food and medical supplies were short, owing to the incompetence of the Commissary Department, no thought of relinquishing the struggle was entertained. There were some desertions, and the murmurings of mutiny among a few; but the majority of the men endured with determination the horrors of that winter.

In 1777 Howe had captured Philadelphia, and the Americans had been beaten at the battle of Brandywine on September 11th. Washington, on October 4th, attacked the British camp at Germantown, on the outskirts of Philadelphia, but the attack failed. But to offset these failures, was Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga on September 17th.

In June 1778 Sir Henry Clinton, Howe's successor, evacuated Philadelphia, and attempted to concentrate on New York; but at Monmouth, New Jersey, he met Washington's forces, and the engagement weakened Clinton, who felt incapable of attacking the Americans when they made West Point, on the Hudson, their headquarters. South, in Georgia, a British force under Colonel Archibald Campbell, captured Savannah on December 29th.

During the following year there were many British

successes in the south, and Clinton and Cornwallis left the north for a while, and assisted in the capture of Charleston. South Carolina apparently collapsed, and the most serious blow was inflicted upon American prestige. But the British showed no sense of moderation in exploiting their victory, and were cruelly and needlessly destructive. Cornwallis, who had been left with the task of subduing North Carolina, found himself facing well-organized and relentless guerrilla warfare. During 1780 local leaders, men like Thomas Sumter, made silent and effective raids on British camps and posts. But the south was denuded of regular American troops, and to remedy this dangerous situation an army of 2000 men was sent to intercept Cornwallis. It was commanded by General Gates, and it was utterly defeated at Camden, South Carolina, on August 16th.

Cornwallis continued his northward progress, and had nearly reached Virginia, when on March 15th, 1781, he met a force under General Greene, at Guilford Court House, North Carolina, where a battle was fought which weakened the British considerably, although the Americans withdrew from the field. Cornwallis could not follow them, but he determined to march through Virginia, and early in August he settled at Yorktown, which he strongly fortified, thereby obeying the orders he thought Clinton, his superior officer, had given. American and French military and naval forces began an attack early in October, and on the 17th of that month Cornwallis offered to surrender. On the 19th his whole army, over 7000 officers and men, capitulated.

It was the last action in the War of Independence.

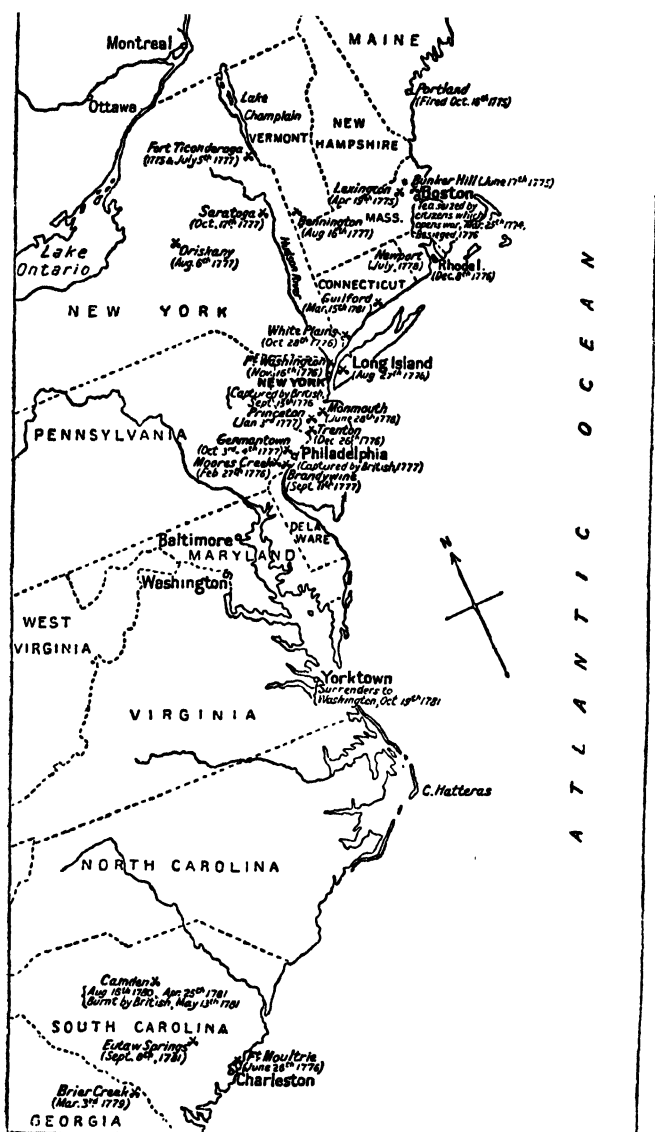
The operations of American forces were not confined to the land. A young navy was in existence, and an able young admiral, John Paul Jones, carried the naval war into European and British waters. Jones was his adopted

name, for he was the son of John Paul, a gardener in Kirkcudbright, Scotland; and America was his adopted country. Acting sometimes as a privateer, sometimes as an officer of the United States Navy, his challenge to British sea power in home waters caused dismay and alarm in England. He raided Whitehaven in April 1778. A few days later he fell in with the *Drake*, a British sloop-of-war, and after a brief engagement captured her and sent her to Brest as a prize. The French gave him encouragement and ships, and in August 1778 he sailed from L'Orient in command of five vessels, with the rank of commodore. His flagship, a rotten old East Indiaman, he named the *Bon Homme Richard*, in honour of Benjamin Franklin's popular work, *Poor Richard's Almanack*.

It was his intention to raid Leith, but on the evening of September 23rd he encountered two British men-of-war, the *Serapis*, a fine frigate, and the *Countess of Scarborough*. The French commanders who had sailed with Commodore Paul Jones had deserted him, and only two ships of his squadron were left to fight the vastly superior British vessels. They were the *Bon Homme Richard*, which John Paul Jones himself commanded, and the *Pallas*. After a fierce action, the *Serapis* was boarded and taken by the crew of the *Bon Homme Richard*, which was so battered in the fight that she sank the next day. The *Countess of Scarborough* struck her colours to the *Pallas*.

Captain Pearson, who commanded the *Serapis*, was ultimately knighted for his share in the action, and when he heard of this award, Paul Jones is said to have remarked: "Should I have the good fortune to fall in with him again, I'll make a *lord* of him!"

But Lord George Germain, who lost more than a mere frigate, did far better. When he resigned from Lord North's ministry, George III offered him a peerage. Lord George asked for a viscounty, and became the first Viscount



7. Principal battles of the War of Independence.

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Sackville. The prominent part he had played in the loss of Britain's American empire was thus adequately recognized. Nor did Lord Cornwallis go unrewarded: in 1786 he became a Knight of the Garter, and was appointed Governor-General of India. Favouritism and folly triumphed in England, but something better triumphed permanently in America—Freedom.

Chapter Six

THE FATHERS OF THE REPUBLIC

IN France and Spain, and in the countries that had formed the "armed neutrality"—Denmark, Holland, Sweden and Russia—diplomats and statesmen congratulated themselves on the downfall of the British Empire. At last the moment had come for dismemberment. The arrogant sea monster was to be carved up, and the most crippling mutilation would be the removal of the American colonies. It is doubtful whether the European allies and sympathizers who had helped the United States with men, munitions and words, had any interest in the future of that straggling, loose-knit federation of rebellious colonies.

France almost certainly regarded the War of Independence as the first step to regaining her own lost lands in the Mississippi Valley and perhaps in Canada too, while Spain, although sunk deep in lassitude and decay, was not without ambition. It is also certain that shrewd far-seeing men like Benjamin Franklin, John Adams and John Jay, the three commissioners appointed by the United States to conduct peace negotiations in Paris, were fully aware that France and Spain had imperial interests, and that a nation striving to be free did not even possess an academic interest for them.

It was understood that the United States would not enter

into any agreement with Great Britain without the knowledge of their French allies, but it became obvious that France desired to continue the war against Britain; and this led to the first example of a habit that has persisted since the War of Independence, and which has been noted by that acute observer, M. André Siegfried. In *America Comes of Age* he pointed out that in an international dispute England and America are always allies. They may have been bickering with apparent bitterness, but "As soon as there is a third party to the deal, every one is cordial again; and whenever they sit side by side in international conferences, their fundamental resemblance inevitably brings them together."

In Britain the North ministry had fallen, and a new government was in power which included Lord Shelburne and Charles James Fox, both friends of America who had opposed the King's policy, and whose sympathies were with the colonists. Before the war Shelburne had been friendly with Benjamin Franklin, and was most anxious to conclude peace. He sent a messenger to Paris to sound Franklin privately about the willingness of America to discuss peace terms direct with Britain; an action which irritated Fox, who felt that the move should have come from him. The American Commissioners decided to ignore their instructions regarding consultation with France, and negotiated direct with Britain. The preliminary articles of the treaty were signed on November 30th, 1782, and the final treaty of Paris was agreed and signed on September 3rd, 1783.

It was originally proposed that the Canadian boundary should follow the line of the Ohio river, so that the Great Lakes and the land south of them, comprising the present states of Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin, should be under British control, but this was not acceptable to America, and the border was moved farther north,

so that the southern shores of the Great Lakes became the land boundary. The southern boundary of the United States was East and West Florida. The exact definition of boundaries was at that time impossible: maps were inaccurate and misleading, and sometimes wilfully imaginative. Although the coastline had been mapped and charted, inland, particularly westwards, everything was vague; but the Mississippi was established as the western limit of the United States.

This treaty conferred upon the young government an enormous territory which at that time they were incapable of developing or controlling. The nation was still little more than a collection of highly individual colonies, with a temporary bond of interest, all anxious to protect their own rights as states, and suspicious of the idea of federal union. The thought of allegiance to a central government was as repugnant as allegiance to the British Crown. The states had fought, not only in the War of Independence, but for generations as separate colonies to uphold their special and particular rights; and to allow those rights to be whittled away by any federal organization was an intolerable prospect.

Fortunately America was led by a number of exceptional men. In Thomas Jefferson they found not only a staunch advocate of liberty, but a man who fully appreciated the importance of preserving states' rights. He realized, and had the power of making other men realize, that individual states' rights could be secured and protected only by a central government, provided the powers of that government were established and curbed by adequate safeguards. Each state was to be represented, and through their representatives and the central government, the people controlled the destiny of the nation, thus becoming in fact as well as in name "the sovereign people."

Never before in the history of one nation had such a

remarkable group of men worked together for the common good. Washington, Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, John Adams and Benjamin Franklin, had each with high courage asked the question and given the answer which Patrick Henry put into splendid words :

“ Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery ? Forbid it, Almighty God ! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death ! ”

Thomas Jefferson was a Virginian gentleman, a scholar with an appreciative and receptive mind, a lover of music and an able performer on the violin. He was a man of many talents, whose ability to write lucid and unforgettable English is shown, not only in the Declaration of Independence, which he drafted, but in the numerous pronouncements and statements which he issued in the course of his career, first as a leader of the revolution, then as a statesman in the service of the new republic, and finally as President. He was born in 1743, and was educated at the college of William and Mary at Williamsburg ; he studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1767. In diversity of interests, in the alert responsiveness of his mind to new ideas and fresh knowledge, he resembled the scholarly English gentlemen of the second half of the seventeenth century —men like John Evelyn who used their leisure for the intellectual and artistic enrichment of their minds. But Jefferson was not a man of mere bookish culture : he enjoyed outdoor sports, was an excellent rider, and liked horse-racing, although he never gambled. He never played cards, and was a non-smoker.

He preferred to convey his ideas with his pen, and he seldom made a speech. This preference may be accounted for partly by a weakness of voice ; but he disliked oratory with its tempting byways of irrelevant thought, its sparkling passages that sounded so well, but which often meant

so little. With written words he fought the battle for democracy, and when that was won, he addressed himself to the humanitarian task of liberal reform in administration. Even in that age of new ideas and bold, progressive thinking, he was a century ahead of his time. He was an advocate of universal state education, believing that education was essential in a democracy. He proposed schemes for the gradual emancipation of slaves, foreseeing with prophetic clarity that the issue of slavery must one day be faced by the nation, and that it might tear the Union asunder if the abomination was allowed to masquerade too long as a respectable and moral institution. He influenced the revision of the penal code, whereby capital punishment was inflicted only for murder and treason. He believed in peaceful measures ; was suspicious of all military arguments, and was not always a realist in his assessment of the character and intentions of foreign powers. His faults in judgement were attributable to an optimistic faith in the virtue of his fellow-men, and this inclined him to accept the promises and protestations of foreign governments at their face value ; he did not recognize such diplomatic small talk, nor apprehend that a formal expression of goodwill might mask a discreditable motive. To the end of his life he remained an even-tempered, tolerant optimist, who believed in the integrity of men and in the progressive advancement of mankind.

A very different character was Alexander Hamilton, an incisive, humourless, analytical man, the son of a Scottish merchant. He was born in the West Indies in 1757, where his father's business was established at St. Christopher. He was largely self-educated, but had a business training. At an early age he displayed an unusual aptitude for incisive and descriptive writing. He was able to enter King's College, New York City, in 1774, to complete his education ; but the War of Independence changed his plans.

He wrote some political pamphlets which attained considerable popularity; and when the war began he joined the army, and showed such ability that by March 1777 he was a lieutenant-colonel on Washington's staff, acting as the Commander-in-Chief's private secretary and confidential *aide*. He was impatient and ambitious, and after four years of the closest and most trusted association with Washington, he resigned his appointment following a slight reprimand by his chief. Washington's high opinion of his qualities was not diminished by this piece of pettiness, and Hamilton on Washington's recommendation was given an independent field command, and distinguished himself at Yorktown.

After the war, Hamilton devoted his time to politics and to the law. He settled in New York, and married into one of the leading families; his wife was the daughter of General Philip Schuyler. It was Hamilton's tenacity and the exercise of his remarkable powers of reasoned argument that ultimately persuaded the New York convention of 1788 to ratify the Constitution. In Washington's first government, he became secretary to the treasury.

As a cabinet minister he was always prepared to accept the widest responsibilities, and the reports and papers he issued had a permanent effect upon the administrative organization of the government. He resumed the confidential relationship with Washington that he had enjoyed during his military career, and was his close and constant adviser. He wrote Washington's farewell address.

He made a deep impression upon that cynical, unprincipled but indisputably great statesman, Talleyrand, and also won his lasting affection. In his brilliant biography of Talleyrand, Mr. Duff Cooper has suggested that the two men had much in common. "Where they differed the advantage was wholly upon Hamilton's side." But their tastes were similar only in the superficial trimmings and pleasures of life. "While Talleyrand saw in politics a path

to riches, Hamilton would sooner have picked a pocket than made a penny out of his political position" (*Talleyrand*, by Duff Cooper, Chapter III, Section 4). Although the Frenchman could not understand Hamilton's scruples and high principles, he admired him. Aaron Burr, the crook politician who killed Hamilton in a duel in 1804, ventured to leave a card upon Talleyrand when he was in Paris some years later. When he repeated the call he was informed that a portrait of Alexander Hamilton hung over Talleyrand's mantelpiece.

Hamilton made many political enemies. His true estimate of Aaron Burr's character led to the antagonism that finally exploded in a duel. Burr deliberately forced a quarrel on Hamilton. He was a crack shot, and Hamilton was a threat to his political career: the result was a disaster for the United States. Although his differences of opinion with Jefferson, his quarrel with John Adams, and his aggressive belief in the rectitude of his own political views provoked enmity and dislike, he was never distrusted. He never played to the gallery; at times his views seemed to flout democratic ideas; but his contempt for popularity could not conceal from statesmen and people alike the immense contribution he made to the establishment of liberal working principles in the task of government. His death was regarded as a national misfortune; his life had been devoted to the creation of workable systems for the better ordering of human life, for, unlike Jefferson, he had no faith in the natural good qualities of his kind. "Men are reasoning rather than reasonable animals," he had once said. Perhaps he had the right to make such a statement, for he was the most courageously reasonable man of his time.

John Adams, who became the second President, was the son of a New England farmer. He was born in 1735 in Massachusetts, and in 1755 he graduated from Harvard.

Three years later he was admitted to the bar. He took a prominent part in the opposition to the Stamp Act, and his great powers of expression not only advanced him in his profession, but brought to him early in life the honours, difficulties and responsibilities of political leadership. He was an ambitious man, almost fiercely egoistical, but able to discipline his volcanic individualism, and to apply his energy and gifts to the service of his country.

His moral courage won universal respect. After the so-called "Boston Massacre" he performed the highly unpopular task of defending the British soldiers who were charged with causing the death of four colonists. He was assisted in the defence by Josiah Quincy, Jr., and secured the acquittal of the officer commanding and all the troops save two, who were convicted of manslaughter.

His inability to avoid expressing his opinion, and his contempt for smooth, diplomatic phrasing, occasionally reduced his popularity. In 1787 he published *A Defence of the Constitution of Government of the United States*, which offended the democratic purists among his countrymen because he recognized and stated that wealthy men of good family and men of exceptional ability had special qualifications for serving the government. A friend of liberty and fraternity, he could not subscribe to the idea of equality: he was unable to subdue his individualism to that extent.

He finally sacrificed his popularity by the wisdom of his international policy. He succeeded in preserving peace with France at a time when war would have been enthusiastically supported by "the sovereign people." The best years of his life were spent serving his country, and he established a family tradition of service. His eldest son, John Quincy Adams, became sixth President of the United States.

John Adams and Thomas Jefferson both died on July 4th,

1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence.

Benjamin Franklin was utterly different in character, training and outlook from the other fathers of the republic. He was a self-made man. He was born in 1706 in Boston, Massachusetts; his schooling was cut short, and in his autobiography he describes the circumstances.

At ten years of age, I was called home to assist my father in his occupation, which was that of a soap-boiler and tallow-chandler; a business to which he had served no apprenticeship, but which he embraced on his arrival in New England, because he found his own, that of dyer, in too little request to enable him to maintain his family. I was accordingly employed in cutting the wicks, filling the moulds, taking care of the shop, carrying messages, etc.

Ultimately he was apprenticed to his half-brother James, who was a printer. He left New England, settled in Philadelphia, and visited England in 1724, remaining in London for nearly two years. He was an expert compositor, and he enjoyed the exercise of his craft. He began to write, and his writings gained great popularity, so he embarked on a variety of journalistic ventures which prospered. His versatility was bewildering, and his delight in the interchange of ideas and his love of knowledge for its own sake, are illustrated by his formation of a remarkable club. He described its origin and organization in these words:

I had united the majority of well-informed persons of my acquaintance into a club, which we called the *Junto*, and the object of which was to improve our understandings. We met every Friday evening. The regulations I drew up, obliged every member to propose, in his turn, one or more questions upon some point of morality, politics, or philosophy, which were to be discussed by the society; and to read, once in three months, an essay of his own composition, on whatever subject he pleased. Our debates were under the direction of a president, and were to be dictated only by a sincere desire of truth; the pleasure of disputing, and the vanity of triumph having no share in the business; and in order to prevent undue warmth,

every expression which implied obstinate adherence to an opinion, and all direct contradiction, were prohibited, under small pecuniary penalties.

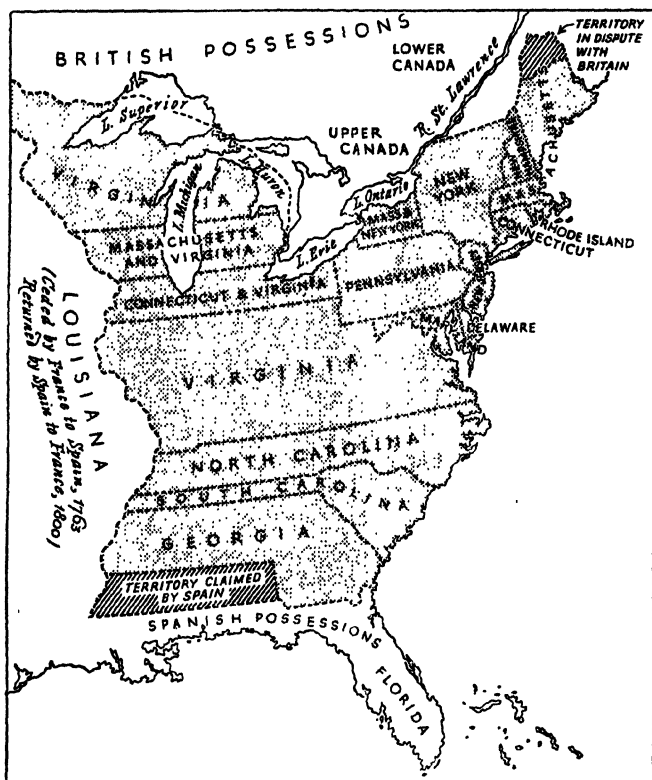
The nature of the *Junto* and its programme reflect the lucidity and directness of Franklin's mind. This club, with its mixed, democratic membership of craftsmen and mechanics, became an educational institution, and with the support of its members Franklin drew up a plan for a college, and appealed for funds. £5,000 was raised, and in due time a college was opened in Philadelphia, which eventually became the University of Pennsylvania. He never allowed his interest in the advancement of knowledge to remain in the theoretical stage. He sought to influence education, to free learning from the mediæval cobwebs that clung to it, and to inculcate the scientific outlook. He was a practical man of business, and his originality and inventiveness asserted themselves not only in his writings, but in his conduct of affairs. He held public offices with distinction; he was appointed Postmaster of Philadelphia; he improved the postal service between that city and New York; he acted as Quartermaster-General in everything but name to Braddock's ill-fated expedition; he accepted a military command, and was in charge of the north-west frontier of Pennsylvania; he represented his province in England, and for thirteen years was a member of its General Assembly. In the course of his life he poured out articles, pamphlets and letters, and published Almanacks, under the name of Richard Saunders, which were known as *Poor Richard's Almanacks*, and for twenty-five years they were best-sellers. He invented a scheme for daylight-saving which interested the French court, but was not, of course, adopted, although he computed that in any year between the 20th of March and 20th of September it would save expenditure on candles to the extent of 96,075,000 *Livres*. His experiments, his scientific speculations, his share in the

founding of the American Philosophical Society, his improvements in street lighting and paving, and his capacity for organization, administration and negotiation, mark him as one of the outstanding men of his time, a universal genius, but a specifically American genius: a new type of mind furnished with opportunities by a new type of nation.

Unashamed of his humble origin in a world where good birth was still an overwhelming advantage; proud of his ability as a craftsman, to the end of his days he retained an unpretentious mode of life and a love of simplicity. His common sense was vigorous and abundant. He was shrewd, even-tempered and prudent. He died in 1790, and many years before he wrote this epitaph:

The Body of Benjamin Franklin, Printer (like the cover of an old book, its contents torn out, and stript of its lettering and gilding), lies here food for worms; yet the work itself shall not be lost, for it will (as he believed) appear once more in a new and more beautiful edition, corrected and amended by THE AUTHOR.

To men like these the destinies of the young republic were confided. To their work, example and collective genius, the United States owes its existence as a great nation.



8. The thirteen original states at the conclusion of the War of Independence.

Chapter Seven

PROBLEMS BEFORE CONGRESS

CONGRESS had complex and multifarious problems to consider and solve. Throughout the War of Independence, exploration, settlement and development had been going forward in the west. In 1775 Daniel Boone had founded Boonesborough in Kentucky, and three years later this pioneer was captured by the Indians; he was adopted into the Shawnee tribe, but managed to escape in time to warn Boonesborough of an attack his captors had planned. Great areas of land were being opened up, which had to be governed and represented. The western boundaries of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia were undefined. Theoretically those states controlled all land to the west, and some of the New England states still had unsettled boundaries: Connecticut, for example, claimed the Pacific Ocean as its ultimate western limit. (Section II, Connecticut, page 229.) But by 1784 all these claims to land lying north-west of the Ohio river were relinquished by individual states to the central government. Thomas Jefferson drafted an Ordinance which created a number of new states in this territory, and in 1787 Congress passed this Ordinance which furnished the framework of a government for the North-West Territory, as the land north-west of the Ohio river was now called. This Ordinance guar-

anteed religious freedom, absolutely forbade slavery, and provided for the equal distribution of the property of those who died intestate.

One of the problems which the United States government did not face, except in a piecemeal fashion, was the future of the Indians. Those aboriginal inhabitants of the land had been completely ignored in the Paris treaty of 1783; and it seemed that, when once the Indians ceased to have any military value as potential allies, French, British and Americans lost all interest in their present or their future condition.

With the exception of Pennsylvania, the colonies had been unfortunate in their relations with the Indians. The New Englanders made little attempt to convert them. The Puritans were not prepared to include Redskins among the elect. For over a century and a half the Indians were regarded either as "redskin vermin" to be exterminated, as an exploitable consumer market for low-grade goods, or as useful allies for the harrying of enemies (French or English, as the case might be); but they were never thought of as a race with any rights. It was unfortunate that white men in America should live in company with two races that they deemed inferior: the Indians and the Negroes.

A brief account of the most powerful and influential confederacy of Indians will illustrate the attitude of the settlers and ultimately of the United States to the whole Indian problem. This was the Iroquois confederacy. It acquired coherent form towards the end of the sixteenth century, and consisted originally of five tribes—the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas. They enjoyed a common medium in the Iroquoian stock language, but each tribe spoke its own dialect. Their territory extended from the Genesee to the Mohawk rivers, and included the area between Lakes Huron and Erie. Each tribe had its own individual form of government, and its

own separate territory. In matters of peace or war each tribe was free to act on its own initiative, and the other members of the confederacy were not obliged to assist unless they had agreed to do so at a general council of the confederacy. The supreme military command was vested in two war chiefs who were chosen by the council and had equal authority. Although the Iroquois never numbered more than 3,000 warriors, they were outstanding among the North American tribes because of their courage and efficient military organization.

In its dealings with the European colonies the Iroquois seldom acted as a whole, and there are many instances of one or more members of the confederacy making a separate alliance with their French or English neighbours. From the establishment of the first Dutch settlement on Manhattan Island to the end of the War of Independence, the destinies of the colonies were profoundly influenced by the Iroquois, of whom the warlike Mohawk tribe had long been regarded as the leader. During the long struggle between Britain and France for domination in North America, the importance of an alliance with the Iroquois was considerable. Their superiority over the other tribes made their help a powerful and occasionally a decisive factor.

In 1644 the Mohawks made a treaty with the Dutch, which lasted until the New Netherlands were conquered by the English in 1664. The Mohawks then confirmed this treaty with the English. Broadly speaking, the Mohawks remained faithful to their English alliance from 1664 to the end of the War of Independence, while the allegiance of other tribes of the Five Nations fluctuated between the French and the English. At an early stage in the struggle the French sent Jesuit missionaries to the Iroquois, who through insidious propaganda did much to undermine English influence. The Iroquois chieftains realized this danger, and as early as 1687 they asked the English to

send missionaries to replace the Jesuits, and in 1704 the first missionary went to live among the Iroquois. The League of the Iroquois, which was sometimes known as "The Five Nations," became "The Six Nations" after 1710, when the Tuscaroras was added to the five tribes.

The rivalry between the French and British culminated in the Conquest of Canada, in which the Mohawks, under Sir William Johnson, played a conspicuous part. Sir William Johnson, the greatest Indian administrator of his time, was an Irishman. He acquired great influence among the Six Nations, and later became an acknowledged leader of the Iroquois tribesmen. He contributed much to maintaining the Mohawk alliance with the English during the difficult years preceding the conquest of Canada, and his work was to some extent carried on by his son, Sir John Johnson, and his nephew, Colonel Guy Johnson.

The cession of Canada had unfortunate repercussions among the former Indian allies of the French. They made no objection to the surrender of the French posts on the Great Lakes to the British authorities, but the wholesale transfer of their territory which followed the British occupation resulted in open rebellion under the leadership of Pontiac, the Ottawa chief. This war continued until 1766, when, through the influence of Sir William Johnson, a treaty was concluded.

When the War of Independence became inevitable, an important aspect of the situation was the attitude the Iroquois would adopt in the coming struggle. The colonists at once realized the necessity of neutralizing the confederacy, but Colonel Guy Johnson and Joseph Brant, one of the Mohawk chieftains, had been getting busy amongst the Mohawks, and had induced them to take up arms on the side of the Crown, with their headquarters at Montreal. Meanwhile, after much deliberation, the rest of the Iroquois had affirmed their neutrality.

Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea) was a grandson of the chieftain Brant, who visited England with "King" Hendrick and two other chieftains in 1710. His mother was a niece of "King" Hendrick. He was first heard of with Sir William Johnson at the battle of Lake George. Later, Sir William sent him to school, where he learnt to read and write in English. On the outbreak of Pontiac's rebellion Brant joined a loyal band of Mohawks, who were helping the English against the rebellious Indians, and at the conference of Indians held in 1775, he emerged as a leader.

It soon became apparent to Congress that Brant and his Mohawks were a menace to the popular cause, and they therefore decided to make strenuous efforts to recruit from the other Indian tribes. In 1779 an expedition was sent against the Iroquois, and the Indians suffered a crushing defeat which broke the strength of the Six Nations. Brant, however, with a chosen body of Mohawk warriors managed to escape to Niagara, and from there he continued to be a scourge to the Americans until the end of the war.

By the terms of the Treaty of Paris (1783), Great Britain "relinquished all claims to the government, proprietary and territorial rights" of the thirteen states. Thus "the ancient country of the Six Nations was included within the boundary granted to the Americans." When peace was declared the Mohawks were living on the American side of Niagara, but they were determined to remain under the British flag and Joseph Brant immediately set about acquiring territory in Canada. He received a grant from the Crown of some 1,200 square miles in Ontario.

William Penn and the Quakers who followed him in the government of Pennsylvania maintained an almost unbroken record of peaceful relations with the Indians. Penn

was a practical Christian : that compliment was seldom deserved by other men in authority who were brought in contact with Indians, collectively or individually.

The Indians were feared and they were fierce, and that is perhaps why they have left no mark on American history. The other subject race was docile. The Negroes were lovable and in the main loyal to their masters. They have contributed much to American civilization : in music, in rich, slow humour, in the very turns of everyday speech, and in the art of cooking.

Another problem that had to be solved after the War of Independence was the position of the Church. Religious differences had always disturbed the colonies, and although a gracious and civilized tolerance distinguished the early history of Maryland and Pennsylvania, it was not until late in the eighteenth century that freedom for all religious opinions and forms of worship was accepted as a matter of course.

As early as 1634 a Commission was formed for the regulation of the spiritual and ecclesiastical affairs of the North American Colonies, under the control of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishop of London and others. In the same year an order of the King in Council (Charles I) was obtained for extending the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London for the time being to English congregations and clergy abroad ; and in 1638 Archbishop Laud tried to send a bishop to New England. This marks the beginning of the long struggle for the episcopate.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century the objectives of the struggle became more definite. During this period three distinct campaigns are apparent, one initiated by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the first two decades of the century, one started by the Bishop of London in the forties, and one set on foot by the colonial clergy in the sixties and seventies. In between these campaigns the

issue was kept alive by occasional petitions, suggestions and debates.

But it was not until after the War of Independence that the Church gained its independence and its own bishops. During the war the churches were desecrated, and the priesthood and laity were persecuted and imprisoned. But the revolution set the Church free to appoint bishops, and even while the war was in progress a proposal for establishing an episcopate in the United States had been made in Congress ; and it was only postponed because it did not seem an appropriate time for the consideration of so important a matter.

The independence of the states rendered resident bishops necessary for the existence of the Church. No candidates could be ordained by the English Bishops unless they took the oath of allegiance to the Crown ; and no candidate so ordained could be a citizen of the United States after taking that oath. The supply of clergy was therefore endangered. An act was, however, passed empowering the Bishop of London and other bishops appointed by him to ordain subjects of foreign countries without their taking the oath of allegiance.

Whatever feeling of unity had been given to the Colonial Church by its dependence upon England, by the remote jurisdiction of the Bishop of London, and by the frequent communication of its leading ministers with the English ecclesiastical authorities, was lost after the War of Independence, and at the same time the need for American bishops, which had been chronic in Colonial times, now became acute, for it would never do, even if it were permitted, for the Church to apply constantly to a foreign power for the replenishment of its ministry. To many it seemed that it would be a long time before this need would be met, though actually bishops were obtained a few years after the Revolution ; but even so the delay was enough

to give some of the more active denominations an opportunity of gaining ground against the Church.

The decline of the Church was most strongly marked in the South, the immediate cause being that disestablishment had deprived it of all public support. As long as the Episcopal Church was the established church everyone had to contribute to its support, and many whose sympathies were with other forms of Christianity remained in nominal allegiance to it in order to avoid the added expense of paying a dissenting minister. When the War of Independence provided an opportunity these people sided with the dissenters in demanding disestablishment, and having gained their end they transferred their support to religious denominations that suited them better. In Connecticut most of the parishes, and in the other states some of them, were able to raise sufficient funds locally to make it possible for their ministers to struggle along ; but in many places the people were unable or unwilling to do this. The clergy were therefore entirely dependent on their congregations for their support and the maintenance of the Church.

With the establishment of the Republic, opposition to the notion of bishops gradually disappeared. The clergy of Connecticut took the lead : they met and agreed to ask Jeremiah Leaming or Samuel Seabury to become their bishop. Leaming declined on account of ill-health and advanced age, but Seabury felt it his duty to accept, and he sailed for England with a letter of recommendation from the Connecticut clergy to the Archbishops. He was instructed to seek consecration in England, if possible, but if he was refused, to approach the non-juring bishops in Scotland.

As Seabury's election was not the act of the whole American Church the British Government hesitated to authorize the English bishops to consecrate until they could be sure that no offence would be given to the Republic.

But as the Church in America had been waiting for a bishop for more than a century, Seabury applied to the Scottish bishops, and he was consecrated at Aberdeen in November 1784. In the following summer he returned to Connecticut, the first regular bishop of the Anglican Communion in North America.

A General Convention met at Philadelphia in 1785, and it included representatives from all the middle states, Maryland, Virginia and South Carolina. There were none from New England. After electing William White president, the Convention proceeded to draft a constitution, revise the liturgy and formulate a plan for obtaining an episcopate. The constitution and the plan for securing bishops were completed and approved by the Convention. It was agreed that the General Convention was to ask the English bishops to confer episcopal orders on such men as might be chosen by the State Conventions, and the State Conventions were advised to make it clear that the candidates were elected with the concurrence of the laity. The deputies present were to request their civil rulers to certify that the application was not contrary to the constitution and laws of their respective states. Three states, New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia, complied with these suggestions and elected bishops.

In the autumn of 1786 the Convention received a communication from the Archbishops laying down the conditions of consecration and stating their objections to the Proposed Book and the proposed constitution. This was followed by a later note saying that the act authorizing the consecration had been passed by Parliament. Before adjourning the deputies signed testimonials for Provoost, White and Griffith, who had been elected bishops for New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia. Of these three White and Provoost sailed at once for England, and were consecrated the following February. But Griffith, on account

of the passive resistance of the Virginia Standing Committee, was unable to collect either the necessary funds for the voyage or the calling of a diocesan convention to sign his testimonials.

When the new bishops returned to America in the spring of 1787, there were now three bishops in the country—the necessary number for a consecration—but only two of them were of English succession which proved an embarrassing situation. After much dispute and discussion the Convention of 1789 unanimously resolved that Seabury's consecration was valid. A complete order of bishops, derived from England and Scotland, then existed in the United States.

Gradually the spiritual, civic and economic life of the community was re-established. But there were some critical disputes which almost led to civil war. The states annoyed each other with commercial restrictions, and interstate commerce was interrupted with vexatious tariffs and regulations. At one time New York and New Jersey were very near war.

There was no common currency, and English, French and Spanish coins were in general use. Now that the war with Britain was over, there was no common aim to unite the colonies in collective and strenuous effort. They only had two things in common: the English language and the love of liberty. They were strong enough to make a working constitution a possibility, and a federal government an actuality.

Chapter Eight

THE REPUBLIC GROWS

IN 1787 a Convention met at Philadelphia which produced the Constitution of the United States. It was framed by men who were faced by desperate practical needs ; it boldly regulated many matters which had hitherto been left to the unfettered discretion of individual states, and it empowered the central government to levy taxes, duties, imposts and excises. Only Congress was to have the power to coin money and fix its value. Only Congress could dispose of the proceeds of taxes and duties, and sums so raised were to be used for paying the debts of the United States and for defending the Union.

The Convention, after producing the Constitution, sent it to Congress for transmission to the states. Congress was asked to put the new government into effect when the Constitution had been ratified by nine states. By July 1788 eleven of the thirteen states had adopted it. New York City was the first seat of government, and in April 1789 Congress met, and Washington was inaugurated as President and John Adams as Vice-President.

The Constitution came into force in 1789. Its designers had given it the most commendable flexibility. They provided for amendments so that changing conditions could be accommodated without the necessity of introducing revolutionary measures. Many hundreds of amendments

have been proposed to the Constitution, but only twenty-one of them have been adopted. The first ten amendments are sometimes described as the American Bill of Rights. These amendments were submitted to the people shortly after the adoption of the Constitution, and they covered much the same ground, often in similar language, as the English Bill of Rights that followed the Revolution of 1688 (Chapter III, page 28). They secured freedom of speech and of the press. They upheld the right to petition, the right to bear and keep arms; they established the regulation of search and seizure and the protection of private property; they maintained the right to speedy trial, and the right of trial by jury; they prohibited cruel punishments, excessive fines or excessive bail. Article X set forth the rights of states under the Constitution.

The Federal Government was now a tangible reality. The United States was represented abroad by ambassadors. Thomas Jefferson became Minister at Paris; John Adams Minister at London.

Washington had said when he addressed the crowd of spectators after taking his oath of office as the first President: "My station is new. I walk on untrodden ground."

The personal wisdom of the President counted for much, though at first there was some apprehension that Washington might expect an almost regal state to support the dignity of his office. He belonged to the Virginian aristocracy. In manner he displayed a certain stiffness. When receiving citizens and visitors on official occasions, he did not shake hands: with his right hand behind his back he would bow his acknowledgements. There was no suggestion of democratic intimacy in his bearing.

It is sometimes suggested that the national flag, the Stars and Stripes, is based upon the arms of the Washington family, which was a white shield with two horizontal red bars and a row of three red stars above. The idea that

the Washington arms was to be perpetuated in the national flag might have implanted the complicated and far-fetched suspicion in the minds of a few ill-disposed people that the first President was hoping to be the first monarch. Nothing in Washington's character or his utterances could ever have supported such a futile supposition.

There is a story which may or may not be true, that Washington was instrumental in designing the original American flag. It was made by a Mrs. Betsy Ross, who kept an upholstery shop in Arch Street, Philadelphia. She was the sister-in-law of George Ross, one of the representatives of Pennsylvania who signed the Declaration of Independence. It was at her suggestion that the stars were five-pointed: Washington in the rough sketch for the flag had shown them as six-pointed. (Section IV, *The National Flag*, page 361.)

The new administration inherited many ideas of official procedure from Great Britain. Washington was not averse to some degree of ceremony; although such stateliness did not accord with the new democratic ideas of equality, it was certain that the nation would respect and approve almost any action or decision of the first President. His birthday was celebrated as a public holiday. He was greeted with enthusiasm and gratitude wherever he went. To the people he was the father and saviour of the country. To the people he was also the embodiment of inflexible virtue and unshakable honesty. He might make unpopular decisions: he might be abused by opportunist politicians and attacked by intemperate journalists, but to the American people he was the man they could always trust. His innate simplicity made him impatient of titles, and he was called in a plain, descriptive way, "President of the United States." There had been various pompous and high-sounding suggestions for his title that had a regal note in them, such as, "His Highness The President of the United

States, and Protector of their Liberties ” ; and Washington’s rejection of such flummery should have disposed finally of rumours about his personal ambitions as a ruler.

Washington’s attitude towards the programme of such organizations as the Society of the Cincinnati demonstrated his opposition to the establishment of hereditary privileges of any kind. The history of this Society and its development shows how Americans in the early years of the Republic wanted to put something in the place of the aristocratic titles and pomp and dignity of Royal government. The Society was founded in 1783, by American Army officers, just before they left Fishkill Camp on the Hudson. The name of Cincinnati was adopted. This classical reference to the Roman who had led his countrymen to victory and had then returned to his agricultural pursuits, illustrated the main idea of the Society : though its members would be returning to their ploughs after laying down their swords, they would not forget that they had once borne arms. The membership consisted of officers of the Continental Army, who had served honourably for three years or had been discharged for disability ; and they included not only native-born Americans but foreigners, and also the direct male descendants of original members, female descendants being accepted in default of males, also collaterals if the Society approved of them. This tribute to the hereditary principle caused the greatest opposition. Alexander Hamilton, and the Society, were accused of attempting to found an order of hereditary nobility on a military basis. It was known that Hamilton had the most unstinted admiration for the English aristocracy and for government by privileged classes. He had committed himself to the statement that the people was “ a great beast.” The Cincinnati Society seriously alarmed the American people ; in their eyes it appeared to stand for everything they had fought against in the War of Inde-

pendence. But George Washington persuaded the Society to abandon the hereditary features which caused such offence. Nevertheless, an opposition society was formed in 1789 by William Mooney, an Irish upholsterer and an ex-service man, who had fought throughout the War of Independence. This Society was described as "a fraternity of patriots solemnly consecrated to the independence, the popular liberty and the federal union of the country." It was called the Tammany Society or the Columbian Order. Its members consisted of the Sons of Liberty, and the Sons of Saint Tammany. (Tammany was the name of a chief of the Delaware Indians, and it means "the affable.") The Society was anti-Tory, anti-British, and its objects were to perpetuate democratic Republican institutions, and to look after ex-soldiers, their widows and orphans, and any other people whom they regarded as appropriate objects for charity. From this Society, born in a spirit of opposition to an unwise attempt to create a pseudo-nobility, the greatest political organization in the country took its name. The Tammany Society in later years rented its premises to the Tammany Hall General Committee. Usually the principal members of the Tammany Society and Tammany Hall were identical, but actually, the Society was a separate organization. Early in its history it became a powerful political influence, and before the end of the eighteenth century it was under the control of Aaron Burr, the crooked politician who was Hamilton's implacable enemy and who naturally chose an organization like the Tammany Society as an instrument for furthering his opposition to Hamilton.

All these enmities, suspicions and jealousies that frothed and foamed in the social life of the young Republic, might have disrupted it; but in those first critical years of the nation's life the character of George Washington was the greatest safeguard against disunion. He was re-elected President in 1792, and at the end of his second term he

retired, to enjoy for three years the peace of his home, Mount Vernon, and the mild responsibilities of a landed proprietor. He died in 1799.

During his two terms of office the Republic grew, in territorial dimensions, in financial stability, in prosperity, and in national confidence. In 1791 the Bank of the United States was chartered. Congress passed a Revenue Bill, also a Coinage Act, and the monetary unit selected was a coin that corresponded to the Spanish dollar. In 1792 a mint was set up at Philadelphia.

The development of the western territory, and the exploration of routes for traffic that would bring such newly admitted states as Kentucky and Tennessee into close commercial relationship with the seaboard states, claimed the attention of the government. The land trails were mere dirt tracks, beaten paths through the forests in some places—the most rudimentary roads. The way west was by water. Some years before he became President, Washington had foreseen that in the navigation of the Great Lakes and the streams that flowed westwards to join the Mississippi, lay the key to the traffic problem of the enormous territory for which the United States Government was responsible.

Waterways, and later railways, carried the traffic that sustained the continuous westward drive of American civilization throughout the nineteenth century. From the end of the War of Independence to the Louisiana purchase, in 1803, that westward drive was gathering power. The frontier was fluid: the pioneers could push it further and further to the west, to parts that were still "intirely unknown."

Two political parties had come into existence: the Federalists, led by Alexander Hamilton, and the Republicans led by Thomas Jefferson. The Federalist party believed in strong central government and cultivated a realistic

outlook on foreign policy. The Republican party had a larger cargo of ideals on board, and preserved the young faith of the democracy. This party was also the champion of states' rights. (Section III, page 327.)

The relations of the United States with Britain and with European countries were conditioned by the fact that the Republic was incapable of enforcing respect for its wishes. There was as yet no American Navy. John Paul Jones, the ablest admiral America had produced, was wasted by his own country. He died in Paris, in July 1792, having been assured by Gouverneur Morris, the American Ambassador to France, that it was unlikely that an American Navy would be founded. France and Britain could pursue any policy that suited them in the matter of trade, war or territorial adjustments, without any consideration for the convenience or wishes of the United States.

Washington, always a realist, accepted this situation. On February 1st, 1793, France, now a Republic, declared war on Great Britain. The sympathies of the American nation were with France. The French Revolution had been enormously popular in the States. Thomas Jefferson had left Paris in the early, idealistic days of the Revolution before it had changed into a bloodthirsty terrorism conducted by a handful of fanatical dictators, and he continued to admire the French fight for freedom. Jefferson became Secretary of State, and was prepared to support a policy that gave aid to France against Britain; but the French Government sent to America an irresponsible and ridiculous young fanatic named Genêt as Ambassador, who first of all insulted Washington, and completed his disastrous career by attempting to appeal to the people of the United States over their President's head. This novel form of diplomacy could not be tolerated, and Genêt was recalled at the urgent request of the United States.

Talleyrand was in America at the time as a refugee. He

spent over two years there. He formed a significant view, which he recorded at the end of a long letter to Lord Shelburne. "My conclusion is that the Americans will remain independent, that they will be more useful to England than to any other Power, and that this utility will increase in proportion as the English Government gives up its present haughtiness of demeanour in all its relations with America." (Quoted in Duff Cooper's *Talleyrand*.)

This conviction may have prompted Talleyrand to plan and attempt to carry through a disgraceful money-raising scheme a few years later, with three special envoys from America and the whole American nation as his projected victims. For a time he was careless of American opinion: he could not use it for the benefit of France. Lord Chatham had said: "America and France cannot be congenial. . . ." Talleyrand's conduct and his lack of principle proved it. (A full and excellent account of Talleyrand's stay in America is given in Duff Cooper's biography, Chapter III, Section 4.)

Washington issued a Declaration of Neutrality on April 22nd, 1793. It was highly unpopular, and the clamour of the public for war with Britain proved to the satisfaction of men like Alexander Hamilton that "the sovereign people" preferred windy idealism to the stern task of facing facts. The United States was quite incapable of conducting a war against Great Britain at that time.

Three years later, when he retired from the Presidency, Washington, in his farewell speech, gave the specification for America's policy towards foreign countries. It was a speech that projected his wisdom and influence far into the future. It has never been forgotten. In the course of that address, which was delivered on September 17th, 1796, he said:

"The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far

as we have already formed engagements let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

“Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

“Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance ; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected ; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation ; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

“Why forgo the advantages of so peculiar a situation ? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground ? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humour or caprice ?

“It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world, so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it ; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

“ Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishment on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

“ Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand, neither seeking nor granting exclusive favours or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the Government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favours from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favours from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.”

In November 1794 a Treaty of Amity and Commerce was signed with Great Britain. It had been negotiated at Washington's instigation by Chief Justice John Jay in London; and although the Treaty only redressed a few of the grievances America had against Great Britain, it was instrumental in keeping the two countries at peace, until 1812. As a result of the Treaty the frontier forts on the Canadian border, which were still in British hands, were

now surrendered to the United States, and a commission was appointed to settle the Maine boundary. It was agreed that debts owing to British merchants at the beginning of the War of Independence were to be paid by the United States, and that damages sustained by American merchants, following the Order in Council made by Great Britain in 1793, should be paid by Great Britain. This Order, which was intended to throttle neutral trade with the French colonies, had seriously injured American shipping, and many vessels flying the Stars and Stripes had been seized by British cruisers.

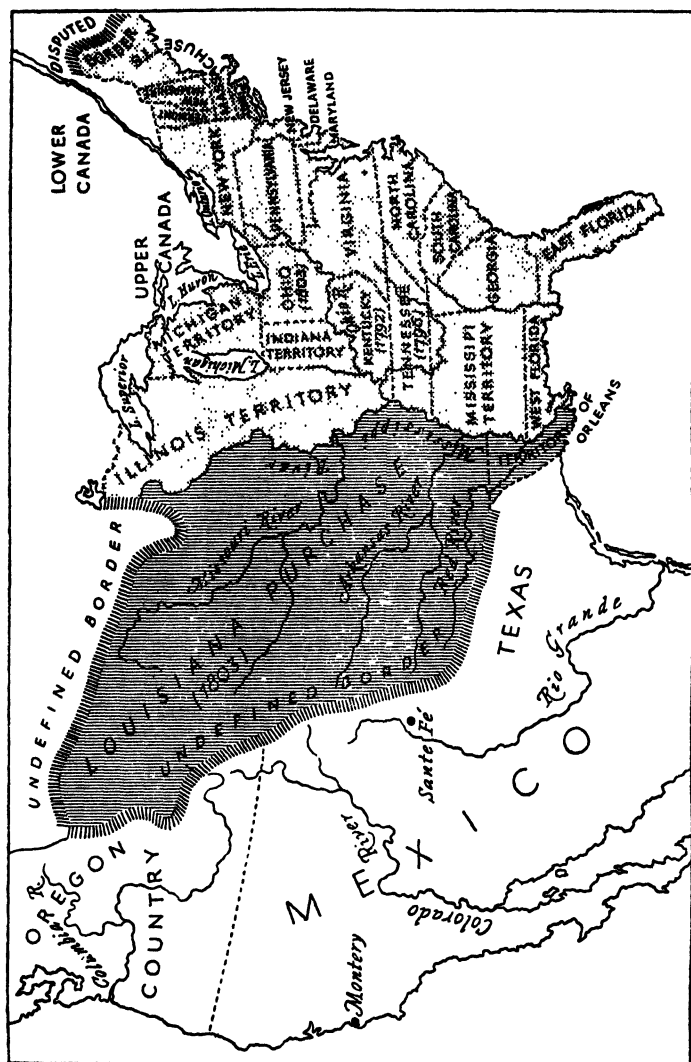
The Republican party denounced the Treaty. A brutal political campaign against John Jay was enthusiastically supported by the public, and the country was fiercely and passionately divided; the Republicans contending that France, their old ally, had been disgracefully let down, and that Washington and his government had knuckled under to the old tyrannical enemy, Britain. But public opinion was fickle. In 1798, the United States was at war with France, which had then passed under the government of the Directory. John Adams, the second President, lost his popularity because he prevented the dispute with France from becoming a large-scale war. It stopped after some preliminary hostilities when a small, new American Navy distinguished itself in a frigate action, and operating in three small squadrons, captured a few French vessels. This naval warfare was confined to the West Indies.

A piece of particularly discreditable conduct on the part of the French had provoked the war. John Adams had sent three commissioners to Paris, Charles C. Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry. When they arrived in Paris in October 1797, three political agents of the Directory called upon them. This was an affront, for as Ministers Extraordinary from the United States they should have been received by Talleyrand, the Minister of Foreign

Affairs. But these agents amplified the insult by blatantly suggesting that the United States should pay a tribute to France and take over from her a Dutch loan to the value of a million dollars. It was also suggested that the five Directors should each receive fifty thousand dollars, and that the American commissioners should apologize for certain remarks made by President Adams in his speech to Congress. Talleyrand appears to have instigated this extraordinary demand. It was curtly refused by the commissioners, and when details were disclosed in the United States, the names of the three French agents who had made the proposals were suppressed, and were indicated by the letters X, Y and Z. The publication of what came to be called the XYZ despatches brought American indignation to boiling point. A Navy department was formed; subscriptions to build ships were raised; and the nation expressed its indignation in a slogan, "Millions for defence; not one cent for tribute."

After such provocation, the President's attempt to make peace was inevitably misunderstood, but it was the wisest thing he could have done. The United States was growing rapidly: to dissipate the country's energies in a needless war with a far-distant power was to flout Washington's wisdom. "Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course." Matters were patched up with France and the war was called off. In 1799 negotiations were reopened, and in 1800 a treaty was made with Napoleon, who was now the master of France. In that year, Thomas Jefferson was elected President with that most disreputable and unscrupulous politician, Aaron Burr, as Vice-President.

Jefferson was eager to encourage the westward development of the country. Even before the Louisiana Purchase, he was asking Congress to sanction money for the exploration of the far western lands, from the mouth of the Mis-



9. The Louisiana Purchase.

souri to the Pacific coast. Through his direct encouragement, such explorers as Meriwether Lewis and William Clark undertook their adventurous journeys, opening up new possibilities for settlement. It almost seems as though Jefferson had some prevision of the railways which were to stride across the Continent, after the covered wagons of the pioneers had traversed the old trails, and canoes, boats, barges and paddle-steamers had followed the great rivers into the far west.

The greatest single acquisition of territory, without conquest, was the transfer of Louisiana to the United States. Spain had been intimidated by France into relinquishing the territory which she had been awarded by the Treaty of 1763. When this was discovered, because the arrangement between France and Spain was based on a secret treaty in 1800, the President was alarmed. Jefferson had modified his conviction that the United States could stand alone in a quarrelling world, armed only by democratic idealism ; and in 1802, in order to protect American merchant shipping, he was compelled to go to war with the small barbaric state of Tripoli in North Africa, the home of the Barbary Corsairs. (The United States Navy settled this minor war with great ability.) But for France to resume control of the territory ceded to Spain was a serious matter. Napoleon had now embarked upon his spectacular career. Nobody knew what his territorial ambitions were : nor did he : they depended partly upon his powers of intimidation, and partly upon the superb French army which was beginning its brilliant record of victories, inappropriately inspired by the doctrines of the French Revolution, although it was now in the service of a self-made tyrant.

In 1801, Jefferson wrote to Monroe, expressing his apprehension about the ceding of Louisiana and the Floridas by Spain to France. The letter is dated May 26th. Jeffer-

son said, "It is a policy very unwise in both, and very ominous to us." Robert Livingstone, the Ambassador to France, was instructed to keep the home government fully acquainted with any measures which might conflict with or threaten American interests in the west.

Livingstone's work as ambassador was supplemented early in 1802 by James Monroe, who had been one of his predecessors (1794-96), and was now appointed Envoy Extraordinary to France. Jefferson wanted Monroe and Livingstone to persuade France to cede New Orleans, at the mouth of the Mississippi, to the United States. Before Monroe arrived in Paris, Talleyrand staggered Livingstone by asking him casually if America wanted the whole of Louisiana. Livingstone at first said no, but Talleyrand pressed the matter, and asked what price America would pay for the whole territory. Ultimately, Monroe and Livingstone took the responsibility of agreeing to the sum of 80,000,000 francs (\$15,000,000). On April 30th, 1803, Napoleon agreed to the arrangement. The deal was through: it has been called the "biggest Real Estate transaction in history."

America now had territory almost without limit, freedom to develop it, and the men who knew how to use freedom.

Chapter Nine

THE WAR OF 1812

LITTLE is known about the War of 1812, in Britain: it is dismissed casually as one of the minor incidents of the Napoleonic struggle; but it left a deep and permanent mark upon Anglo-American relations; it was the root cause of much bitterness, and the memory of it was a constant irritant to Americans. For them, it was a second armed assertion of their independence, the final intimation to the Mother-Country that interference with the Republic could no longer be tolerated.

The incidents of the war itself were unforgivable in American eyes; and the descent on Washington, the burning of the Capitol, and the partial destruction of the executive mansion where the President lived, are remembered to this day in the United States. That act of stupidity by Britain is commemorated by the name which the executive mansion has borne ever since, for it was called the White House because the ravages of the raid were concealed by the application of white paint and whitewash when the building was restored.

The creation of a national capital at Washington was an expression of national pride. The city was laid out by an American engineer of French birth, Pierre Charles L'Enfant, who came to America in 1777 with La Fayette. His military engineering works brought him to Washing-

ton's notice, and he was made the chief of the corps of military engineers. After the war, he was chosen to plan what was described as the "new federal town." He had proved his architectural capacity by remodelling the City Hall of New York and also the Federal House in Philadelphia. In 1791, he started work on plans for the national city. Jefferson had wanted a "grid" plan, but L'Enfant designed a city with radiating avenues, a city capable of graceful growth in any direction, magnificently sited by the Potomac river and immune from the monotony which a "grid" plan frequently imposes. Washington to-day is a city of white marble, a Greek city seen through a magnifying-glass, with elegant, classic columns rearing their arborescent capitals to a great height above the street level. It is spacious and urbane, and slightly larger than life-size. The proportions of Greek and Roman architecture are preserved, but they are so enormously enlarged that they have lost touch with humanity. Human dignity suffers in Washington, but for all that it is a city of noble buildings, veined by green avenues, interspersed with large parks and fine gardens, with the Executive Mansion, the White House, as the elegant core of the plan. Despite its central situation, the White House is a secluded, private residence.

To this architectural achievement, still in the early years of its growth, the British forces brought barbaric disaster. It was a savage expression of the British attitude of which Talleyrand had complained—the "haughtiness of demeanour" which disfigured British relations with America. In 1812, Canning, speaking in the House of Commons, stated that the Americans "were not a people we should be proud to acknowledge as our relations." The British governing classes were reluctant to admit that a new nation dedicated to the proposition "that all men are created equal" was a living and growing reality.

Nevertheless, the British Government, in 1812, had made

a sincere attempt to end the dispute that was poisoning the relations of the two powers. On June 23rd, the government revoked the Orders in Council which had devastated American trade; but this gesture of goodwill was too late. Five days earlier the United States Government had declared war on Great Britain. The War of 1812 could never have occurred if an Atlantic cable had been in existence. The long, formal process of protest and counter-protest, diplomatic shuffling, evasions, irritants—intentional and accidental—could have been obviated years earlier by half a dozen intelligent men from both countries discussing in their common language the problems that divided them. Professor Channing has rightly said: "The War of 1812 was waged by one free people against another free people, in the interests of Napoleon, the real enemy of them both."

The trouble arose partly over a long-standing dispute about Britain's right to impress seamen from American vessels. American merchant-seamen during the French and English wars were in a deplorable plight. They were liable to impressment by British men-of-war, and had no redress or escape. Britain argued that it was impossible to tell the difference between Englishmen and Americans. They spoke the same language, and that was good enough for the captain of an English battleship, when men were short, and the British Government was coping with a world war. When American vessels fell into French hands, the American seamen were captured for the same reason that the English impressed them: the French could not tell the difference between Englishmen and Americans: therefore, they became prisoners of war.

During the early years of the nineteenth century, American merchantmen were regarded quite openly as a source of supply for seamen, and the British Government never acknowledged the national standing of such seamen. They would not recognize naturalization: they upheld the

doctrine of inalienable allegiance, which had been accepted throughout Europe. It was now being abandoned, and had been completely abandoned in the English colonies, when the right of foreigners to naturalization was recognized by the British Parliament. The doctrine of inalienable allegiance struck deeply at the United States, for it denied to all European immigrants the freedom which they had sought by crossing the Atlantic. Only the aggressive nationalism of the mid-twentieth century has revived such an unreasonable doctrine.

On the British side of the controversy it could be said that America constituted a permanent danger to ships of the Royal Navy. When they put in at any United States port, the seamen deserted, sometimes in a body, and many of H.M. ships were immobilized in American ports for that reason. To overcome this danger, the principal ports on the Atlantic seaboard were blockaded by the British. All vessels entering or leaving were stopped, and the commanders of the British cruisers engaged on this task helped themselves to likely members of the crews.

Such a provocative state of affairs could not long endure without some act of violence occurring, and on June 22nd, 1807, the British warship *Leopard* fired on the *Chesapeake*, an American frigate that had just been commissioned, and had only recently left the dockyard. The commander of the *Leopard* was acting on the instructions of Vice-Admiral Berkeley, who had reason to believe that deserters from H.M.S. *Melampus* and H.M.S. *Halifax* were on board the American ship. The fitting of the *Chesapeake* was not properly completed, and she was only able to fire one gun before striking her colours to the *Leopard*. Three American citizens and a British deserter were removed by the officers of the *Leopard*, and the *Chesapeake*, in a badly shattered condition, with three men killed and eighteen wounded, returned to Norfolk.

This disastrous blunder infuriated the Americans, and two years later the British Government decided to disclaim all responsibility. Vice-Admiral Berkeley's order was disavowed, and compensation was offered for the attack on the *Chesapeake*. The affair challenged the whole question of the British right to impressment, and America demanded that impressment should be given up; but the British Government refused to consider this proposal. President Jefferson had taken effective action against Britain in the form of economic sanctions. Congress, on his recommendation, passed an Embargo Act in December 1807 which stopped American vessels leaving the United States for foreign ports. All overseas trade ceased. Periodically, this Embargo Act was tightened up by amendments, and Jefferson's firmness in recommending and applying it attested his popularity with the country.

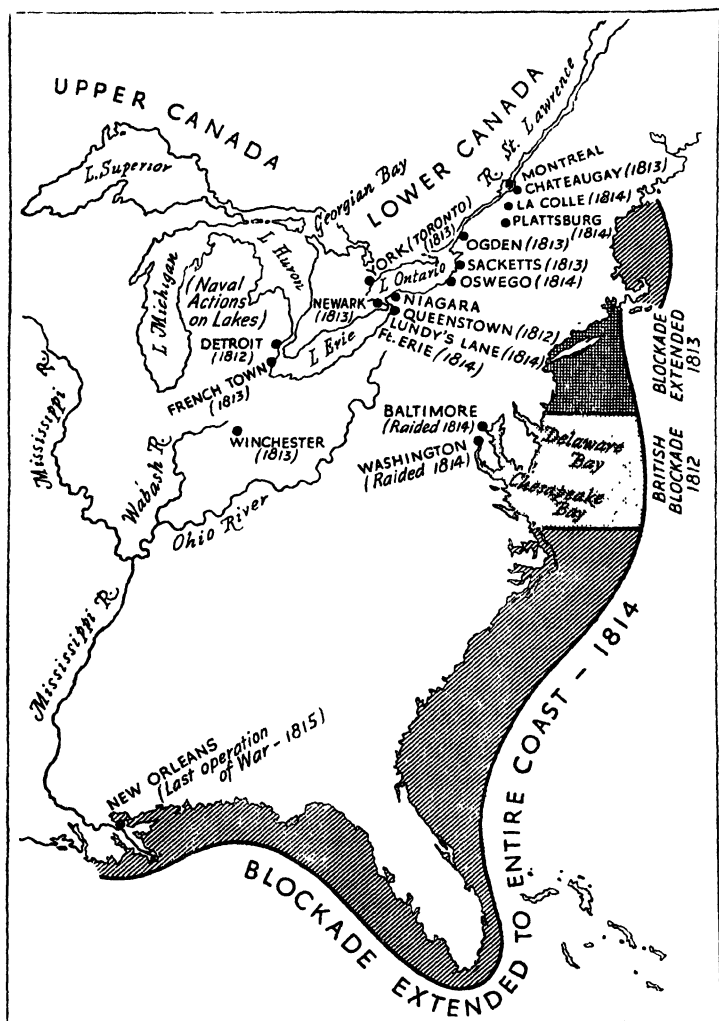
Although it had no effect upon the policy of the government, unquestionably the embargo created grave commercial troubles in Britain, and the cost of American goods soared up. Britain began to lose her world markets, and in the New England states enterprising manufacturers began to make for themselves the goods which had previously been supplied from British factories. The chief victims of Jefferson's policy were the Virginian tobacco planters, and a huge, unsaleable surplus of tobacco was created by the cessation of shipments to Britain, and large numbers of planters were ruined.

The New England shipowners, unable to bear the thought of their ships being idle, when freight rates were rocketing skywards, attempted to evade the regulations, but the Enforcement Acts effectually stopped evasions. It was then that New England financiers and merchants realized the possibility of a home industry. The prelude to the War of 1812 was the industrial development of New England.

James Madison, who succeeded Jefferson as President, in March 1809, repealed the Embargo with the approval of Congress. Jefferson's policy was the earliest effective employment of economic sanctions. Whatever results, just and unjust, the policy may have had, at least it kept the United States and Britain from open war. If Jefferson had decided to ignore the precedent set by Washington, and had served a third term, his undiminished faith in the essential goodness of men might have prevented the totally unnecessary War of 1812.

War was declared against Britain on June 18th, 1812. A group of young men now controlled the policy of the United States Government, and they had been impatient with the cautious statesmanship of Jefferson. Men like Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun felt that war was essential, and that the reassertion of American independence was demanded, not only by the grievances which were crying out for redress, but in order to impose upon British ministers a more tolerant and courteous attitude towards the Republic. To Canning, the British Prime Minister, who spoke with contemptuous patronage of America, and to the vast majority of the British governing classes, the Americans were still rebellious children, and the independence of the old colonies was not really recognized : it was still resented, and still deplored.

In 1812, there was an attempt by the United States forces to invade Canada. This army of 2,500 men under General Hull was ill-trained and badly led. For once in a way the British had appointed an extremely able General to the defence of Canada, Isaac Brock. With a compact, efficient force, Major-General Brock smashed the invasion and counter-attacked. The British troops numbered about 730 men, and they were supplemented by 500 Indian auxiliaries. Brock was killed in action in October 1812. In 1813, after a naval action on the Great Lakes under Commodore



10. The War of 1812.

Oliver Perry, the American forces were able to assume control of the area that Brock had invaded.

The year 1812 was one of disaster and disgrace for the American land forces. Hull was condemned to death by court-martial for his surrender to the British, but the sentence was commuted. Another American general, van Rensselaer, launched an attack on Queenstown on the Niagara; but 3,000 of his troops refused to cross the Canadian frontier, having discovered at the last moment some constitutional objections to such an action. Some 900 troops, who had overlooked their legal position and had crossed the border, had to surrender to the British, as they were unsupported. A later attempt to invade Canada also failed. The situation was desperate: New England was seething with discontent, for the war was unpopular there and opposition to its prosecution was spreading.

The situation was saved by the American Navy. The daring exploits of John Paul Jones were repeated, and the British public heard with anxious indignation that men with all the dash and resource of a Lord Cochrane were engaging His Majesty's ships and sinking them and compelling them to strike their colours. American gunnery was superb; American ships were handled with admirable skill, and from the first naval action of the war on August 19th until June the following year, the British Navy sustained a series of humiliating calamities. These actions certainly supported the boast made in the American sea song:

It oft-time has been told
That the British seamen bold
Could flog the tars of France
So neat and handy, O!
But they never met their match
Till the Yankees did them catch—
Oh! the Yankee boy for fighting
Is the dandy, O!

The first action was between the U.S.S. *Constitution*, a frigate, and the British *Guerrière*. The American ship had heavier metal, and she was well handled. The action lasted for twenty-five minutes, when the *Guerrière*, a total wreck, struck her colours. On October 18th, the American sloop *Wasp* captured the British sloop *Frolic*. A week later the American frigate, *United States*, hammered the British frigate *Macedonian* into submission in a battle that lasted for an hour, when the excellent gunnery and the superior armament of the American ship made the contest almost hopeless. The British casualties were 104, the American only 13. The *Constitution* added to her fame on December 29th by capturing the British frigate, *Java*, which was carrying the Governor of Bombay to India. Between October 1812 and May 1813 500 British merchantmen were captured by American men-of-war and privateers. American cruisers, using French ports as bases, carried the war into British home waters, even interfering with traffic to Ireland. The moral effect of these blows was considerable: the British public was depressed, the American public was intoxicated with enthusiasm. So far the weight of armament had given the American ships an advantage; but the way they were fought by their commanders also gave them immense superiority.

On June 1st, 1813, the British Navy re-established its reputation by the action between the *Chesapeake* and the *Shannon*, commanded by Philip Bowes Vere Broke. The frigates were of equal force, and within a quarter of an hour of the first shot, the *Chesapeake* surrendered. Broke was so seriously wounded that he never recovered his health. He was rewarded with a baronetcy, and the British public gave him the popular title of "Brave Broke." Years after the second American War was forgotten, people in England were still singing the song that commemorated this action, the concluding

lines of which were a counterblast to the American sea song :

Then Brave Broke he drew his sword,
Crying, " Now, my lads, we'll board,
And we'll stop their playing
Yankee-doodle-dandy-O ! "

By November 1813 the Atlantic coastline of the United States south of Rhode Island was closely blockaded. By May the following year the whole coast was watched and guarded by the British fleet. The blockade was complete : American commerce ceased to exist. The raid on Washington was carried out in August 1814. Napoleon had abdicated in April, and the war with America was intensified. Reinforcements, including numbers of Wellington's veterans from the Peninsula, were sent to Canada.

The American land forces had improved in training and quality during the war, and they were able to hold their own when they encountered the best troops Britain could put in the field. The operations during the latter part of 1814 were indecisive, but the pressure of British raids on the coast had a disturbing effect upon the American command. A British expedition occupied eastern Maine. The United States forces were withdrawn from their positions in Upper Canada.

On land, the last big operation of the war was the British campaign against New Orleans from December 7th, 1814, to January 8th, 1815, conducted by Major-General Pakenham. He was one of Wellington's officers, a man whose reputation in the Peninsula stood high ; but he was up against a new type of military mind, for the American Commander at New Orleans was General Andrew Jackson. Pakenham's ideas were out of date, and he sacrificed his troops and his own life by adhering to the parade-ground technique that had brought disaster upon Braddock sixty years earlier.

The needless war was nearing its end. The British

Foreign Secretary, Lord Castlereagh, had indicated his willingness to negotiate with the Americans, but it was not until August 1814 that these negotiations opened. A Treaty was signed at Ghent on December 24th, which completely ignored the questions which had provoked the war. There was no reference to the impressment of American seamen ; and many important matters of detail, relating to American fishing rights and British rights of navigation on the Mississippi, were left unsettled. Peace was announced simultaneously with the news of Pakenham's defeat by Andrew Jackson at New Orleans.

The war, short, bitter and diffused in its operations, had put a great strain upon the Union. The idea of Federation was still young ; and the New England states had sent emissaries to Washington to discuss with the government some proposals which might have led to secession. Always independent in spirit, New England had now added to its restless Puritanism the wealth-giving powers of industrialism ; the proposals of the emissaries who were in Washington when peace was proclaimed included suggestions that Federal taxes collected in the New England states should be retained by those states in order to meet the cost of independent state armies. But the peace terms and Andrew Jackson's victory created such a wave of popularity for the administration that the New England commissioners decided that it was impolitic to press proposals which were fundamentally opposed to strong central government.

The War of 1812 finally established America's full consciousness as a nation. Never again would she become involved in Europe. Washington's words about European entanglements were taken to heart, and the citizens of the United States turned their backs with thankfulness upon the Atlantic, and what lay beyond. It was the God-given barrier between themselves and interfering tyranny. They turned their faces to the West.

Chapter Ten

DISENTANGLEMENT FROM EUROPE

BETWEEN the end of the second war with Britain and the election of one of the military heroes of that war, General Andrew Jackson, as President of the United States, in 1828, America grew with such astonishing rapidity that Europe revised its ideas about the new nation. The fresh air of freedom pervaded the new world. The Spanish colonies asserted their independence. Mexico became a separate state. In South America, new republics were raised upon the ruins of Spanish colonial government. Britain and America, as Talleyrand had prophesied, discovered mutual interests, and statesmen on both sides had the wisdom to agree upon an unfortified frontier between Canada and the United States.

Canning, the British Foreign Secretary, who had only a few years earlier used such contemptuous expressions about America, invited the United States to join with Great Britain in a declaration which would secure for the Spanish colonies in America immunity from European intervention. Such intervention was certainly a possibility, for the reactionary "Holy Alliance" was attempting to exterminate popular government everywhere. This proposition was put to Richard Rush, the American Minister to Britain, who, although he had no instructions from his govern-

ment, intimated that such a declaration would appeal to America, if Great Britain would consent to recognize the independence of the new Spanish republics in Central and South America. Canning was unable to agree to this, and although this joint declaration by Britain and America was never made, it led ultimately to the proclamation of the Monroe doctrine. Rush's conversation with Canning was reported to President Monroe, who, in turn, discussed it with ex-Presidents Jefferson and Madison, and with his cabinet. The result was that in his annual message to Congress on December 2nd, 1823, James Monroe made a statement which informed the world that the United States would never interfere in the internal concerns of any European power; but if any European power attempted at any future time to extend its political system to any part of the Western hemisphere, "for the purpose of oppressing" the nations, or "controlling in any other manner their destiny," the United States would interfere. A final principle was enunciated, which had particular reference to the claims Russia was making to the north-west coast of America. This was expressed as follows:

"In the discussions to which this interest has given rise, and in the arrangements by which they may terminate, the occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Powers."

Canning, on behalf of Britain, informed the government of France that any attempt by the "Holy Alliance" to dispute the Monroe doctrine by force would lead to the immediate recognition of the new Spanish-American republics by Great Britain. This diplomatic support by Britain for American foreign policy was the first friendly

act by the Mother-Country towards her former colonies. It marked the beginning of a new era, and of a long peace between the two countries.

Internally, many political readjustments took place. James Monroe, the fifth President, had succeeded James Madison, in 1817. Both of them served two terms as President. The old, sharp definition of the political parties was blurred by the growth of the state. The Federalist party gradually disappeared. Its reason for existence had gone: no political support was needed to sustain the belief that a strong, Federal Government was essential. The Federalists were replaced by the Whigs.

Jefferson's Republican party, with its democratic idealism, now changed its name and became the Democratic party. Both Madison and Monroe were Republicans and so was Monroe's successor, John Quincy Adams, the eldest son of John Adams, the second President. With the election of Andrew Jackson, the party finally dropped the word "Republican."

Inter-state communication was improving. Fine roads were being constructed, and the waterways were becoming vital arteries. Robert Fulton's steamboat was paddling up and down the Hudson as early as 1807. By 1815, steamboats were in regular service, not only on the Hudson, but on the Delaware, the Ohio, and the Mississippi. One of the best and most readable histories of this river traffic, is Mark Twain's *Life on the Mississippi*. Between 1790 and 1815, the population of the country was doubled, standing in the latter year at some eight millions. Between 1820 and 1830 nearly 76,000 emigrants arrived from the United Kingdom. Of these, 50,724 were from Ireland, 22,167 from England, and 2,912 from Scotland. From Europe came a total of 98,816. There was land to the west, and there was freedom to develop it. New states and territories were being organized. Between 1790 and 1830, the

following states were admitted: Vermont (1791); Kentucky (1792); Tennessee (1796); Ohio (1802); Louisiana (1812); Indiana (1816); Mississippi (1817); Illinois (1818); Alabama (1819); Missouri and Maine (1820).

The admission of Missouri to the Union ventilated the whole problem of the future policy about slavery. The point had been raised whether slavery should be extended to the Louisiana purchase; until, in 1820, the famous Missouri Compromise was arranged. This allowed Missouri to be admitted as a slave-holding state; but in all territory west of the Mississippi, bought from France and known as the Louisiana purchase, and which lay north of the parallel $36^{\circ} 30'$, slavery was prohibited. There was one exception to this prohibition, and that was the state of Missouri itself whose southern boundary was $36^{\circ} 30'$. The northern boundary of the slave states now followed the northern boundaries of Maryland and Virginia (the Mason-Dixon Line), Kentucky, and Missouri. (Map 12, page 141.)

Abroad, people began to recognize the American character. It was something shrewd, energetic, liberal and earnest. It was symbolized by two national figures, which, in due time, were exploited by American and foreign caricaturists as Brother Jonathan and Uncle Sam. The mythical figure of Brother Jonathan dates from the War of Independence. When General Washington took command of the Revolutionary forces at the beginning of the war, there was a great shortage of war material. The Governor of Connecticut, whose name was Jonathan Trumbull, was an able organizer, a close friend of Washington's, and a man who, in an emergency, could conjure up supplies and munitions from the most unlikely sources. In those early days of the war, Washington had frequently said, when an emergency arose, "We must consult Brother Jonathan." The expression gained wide popularity, and "Brother

Jonathan " became a generic term for the whole American people.

Uncle Sam dates from 1812. It was first used in Troy, New York, when certain goods purchased on behalf of the government, were officially inspected by one Samuel Wilson. The government goods were branded "U.S." As Wilson's nickname was Uncle Sam, the coincidence of these governmental initials was made much of, and government property came to be known as "Uncle Sam's property."

In England, writers and critics were becoming increasingly aware of the stimulating virtues of the new Republic. Charles and Mary Beard, in *The Rise of American Civilization*, point out that "English criticism was keenly felt and usually disparaging; English praise was hungrily sought; and all this meant efforts to conform to sentiments alien to New World life, whether the conservatism of Sir Walter Scott and Sydney Smith or the radicalism of Byron and Shelley" (Volume I, Chapter XVI, page 790). Sydney Smith could hardly be described as a conservative, but he seems to have given lasting offence to Americans. Even that most discerning historian, James Truslow Adams, selects one critical remark made by this most liberal-minded writer. "We had been made irritable for many decades under the gibes of provincial English minds, such as that of Sydney Smith, who in a sneering article had asked in 1820, 'Who ever reads an American book?'" (*The Epic of America*, Section X). But during the eighteen-twenties, Sydney Smith made such a generous assessment of the American character, the progress achieved by the American people, and the virtues and ideals of the American nation, that he deserves to be ranked with Edmund Burke and Charles James Fox for his discernment, sympathy, and prophetic vision.

He set down how America struck an intelligent and unprejudiced Englishman of the period, in these words :

“There is a set of miserable persons in England who are dreadfully afraid of America and everything American—whose great delight is to see that country ridiculed and vilified—and who appear to imagine that all the abuses which exist in this country acquire additional vigour and chance of duration from every book of travels which pours forth its venom and falsehood on the United States. We shall from time to time call the attention of the public to this subject, not from any party spirit, but because we love truth, and praise excellence wherever we find it ; and because we think the example of America will in many instances tend to open the eyes of Englishmen to their true interests.

“The Economy of America is a great and important object for our imitation. The salary of Mr. Bagot, our late Ambassador, was, we believe, rather higher than that of the President of the United States. The Vice-President receives rather less than the second Clerk of the House of Commons ; and all salaries, civil and military, are upon the same scale ; and yet no country is better served than America ! Mr. Hume has at last persuaded the English people to look a little into their accounts, and to see how sadly they are plundered. But we ought to suspend our contempt for America, and consider whether we have not a very momentous lesson to learn from this wise and cautious people on the subject of economy.

“A lesson on the importance of Religious Toleration, we are determined it would seem, *not* to learn—either from America or from any other quarter of the globe. The high sheriff of New York, last year, was a Jew. It was with the utmost difficulty that a bill was carried this year to allow the first duke of England to carry a gold stick before the King—because he was a Catholic !—and yet we think ourselves entitled to indulge in impertinent sneers at America,—as if civilization did not depend more upon

DISSENTANGLEMENT FROM EUROPE III

making wise laws for the promotion of human happiness, than in having good inns, and post-horses, and civil waiters. . . .

“ America is exempted, by its very newness as a nation, from many of the evils of the old governments of Europe. It has no mischievous remains of feudal institutions, and no violations of political economy sanctioned by time, and older than the age of reason. If a man find a partridge upon his ground eating his corn, in any part of Kentucky or Indiana, he may kill it even if his father be not a Doctor of Divinity. The Americans do not exclude their own citizens from any branch of commerce which they leave open to all the rest of the world. . . .

“ It is a real blessing for America to be exempted from the vast burthen of taxes, the consequences of a long series of foolish, just, and necessary wars, carried on to please kings and queens, or the waiting-maids and waiting-lords or gentlemen, who have always governed kings and queens in the Old World. The Americans owe this good to the newness of their government ; and though there are few classical associations or historical recollections in the United States, this barrenness is well purchased by the absence of all the feudal nonsense, inveterate abuses, and profligate debts of an old country. . . .

“ America is so differently situated from the old governments of Europe, that the United States afford no political precedents that are exactly applicable to our old governments. There is no idle and discontented population. When they have peopled themselves up to the Mississippi, they cross to the Missouri, and will go on till they are stopped by the Western Ocean. . . .

“ America seems, on the whole, to be a country possessing vast advantages and little inconveniences ; they have a cheap government, and bad roads ; they pay no tithes, and have stage coaches without springs. They have no poor

laws and no monopolies—but their inns are inconvenient, and travellers are teased with questions. They have no collections in the fine arts ; but they have no Lord Chancellor, and they can go to law without absolute ruin. They cannot make Latin verses, but they expend immense sums in the education of the poor. In all this the balance is prodigiously in their favour ; but then comes the great disgrace and danger of America—the existence of slavery, which, if not timeously corrected, will one day entail (and ought to entail) a bloody servile war upon the Americans—which will separate America into slave states and states disclaiming slavery, and which remains at present as the foulest blot in the moral character of that people. A high-spirited nation, who cannot endure the slightest act of foreign aggression, and who revolt at the very shadow of domestic tyranny, beat with cart-whips, and bind with chains, and murder for the merest trifles, wretched human beings who are of a more dusky colour than themselves ; and have recently admitted into their Union a new State, with the express permission of ingrafting this atrocious wickedness into their constitution ! No one can admire the simple wisdom and manly firmness of the Americans more than we do, or more despise the pitiful propensity which exists among Government runners to vent their small spite at their character ; but on the subject of slavery, the conduct of America is, and has been, most reprehensible. It is impossible to speak of it with too much indignation and contempt ; but for it we should look forward with unqualified pleasure to such a land of freedom and such a magnificent spectacle of human happiness.”

Sydney Smith saluted the spirit of freedom, flowering in its new environment ; but he saw as clearly as Jefferson that the question of slavery could not be indefinitely shelved in the land of the free.

Chapter Eleven

GROWING PAINS

JAMES MONROE'S election to a second term of office as President was unopposed. This lack of opposition, and Monroe's own mild, tolerant character, reflected the nature of a period that is known as the "Era of Good Feeling." Political passions were gradually subdued as the nineteenth century grew out of its teens, and although politicians still cherished their enmities and ambitions, the people were concerned less with political warfare and more with the colossal task of developing their country. The Missouri Compromise was arranged in 1820, and it seemed that the bitterness of the slavery question was successfully modified, and people with a comfortable outlook might well have thought that it had been permanently settled. In the north industries were growing; in the south cotton planting was creating wealth, and incidentally consolidating an economic bond between the southern states and Great Britain. But cotton growing depended upon slave labour. Other economic as well as moral forces were destined to divide north from south.

The "Era of Good Feeling" ended after Monroe's second term. In 1824 a Bill was passed which fixed a tariff on imports for the benefit of expanding and newly-established industries. It was tenaciously opposed, particularly by the planting and shipping interests, but the United

States was nevertheless committed to protection as a policy. Four years later another Bill which amplified the duties on imported manufactures, and imposed duties on certain raw materials, passed both Houses of Congress, and was known as the "Tariff of Abominations." To the south the whole policy of protection seemed to be a plot at their expense to create and maintain vested interests in the north. John Quincy Adams, Monroe's successor, was the victim of the political violence that followed the tariff controversy. He lost the election of 1828, which was conducted with such venomous energy that a foreign observer might almost have imagined that the country was on the verge of a civil war.

Southern pride and southern pockets had been hurt; but one man who was no politician saw that the people, the hard-working, energetic citizens themselves, had been flouted. He was a man given to speaking his mind. What he said was quite unmistakably what he meant. He was impulsive, sincere and honest. He was also a popular hero and his name was Andrew Jackson. He was one of the few victorious generals of the War of 1812, the successful defender of New Orleans, and he was known affectionately by the nickname of "Old Hickory."

In every way Jackson was a picturesque character. He had enjoyed a varied career as a lawyer and a soldier; he was a good friend and a bad enemy. He was never deterred from any action by the thought that it might be indiscreet, and he was essentially a man of action. He had fought several duels, and in one of them, in 1806, when he killed his adversary, Charles Dickinson, he was badly wounded.

He was sixty-one when he was elected seventh president, and he was as burningly anxious to defend the people from the menace of what began to be called "money power," and to defeat the enemies of democracy as he had been to

beat the British at New Orleans. But he was now opposed to something far more formidable than General Pakenham and his Peninsula veterans. He was fighting new interests, and striking at a new aristocracy of wealth that protected itself with invisible defences.

It is doubtful whether Jackson ever really understood the ramifications of the financial structure of America; but he identified the United States Bank as an enemy, and against that giant he rode, sword in hand, like Don Quixote assailing the windmills. He was immensely popular; he believed in the democratic ideal as fervently as Jefferson, and he undertook this war with the Bank because he was convinced that democracy and plutocracy were hopelessly incompatible. In time he found himself conducting his war single-handed. The supply of great men, capable of courageously upholding an ideal, was temporarily interrupted. The Bank could buy almost unlimited support. Andrew Jackson was alone.

The Charter of the Bank was due to expire in 1836. Henry Clay took upon himself the defence of the Bank's interests. Clay was Jackson's political rival, and was a polished and accomplished man of the world, with fine manners and an eloquent tongue. He was the antithesis of the President, whose violent directness of thought, speech and action set him apart from politicians. Jackson never belonged to the class of specialist who fought with words, and although Clay had been given many opportunities in the past for knowing all about the President's peculiarities, he was injudicious enough to attempt to secure the granting of a new Charter to the Bank in 1831, five years before it was necessary. Jackson's renomination may have prompted Clay's action. Somewhat reluctantly the Bank applied for a re-charter. A bill to effect this was passed by both Houses of Congress, but was vetoed by the President.

In his annual messages to Congress in 1829, 1830 and 1831, Jackson had arraigned the Bank as unconstitutional, had accused it of inability to regulate the currency, had even questioned the safety of government deposits ; but every year committees appointed by each House had issued favourable reports on the Bank, which invalidated the President's accusations. His re-election in 1832 convinced Jackson that he was the chosen instrument of the people, and that his views rightly interpreted the aims and idealism of true democracy. In 1833 he told his cabinet that he proposed, on his own responsibility, to remove all government deposits from the Bank.

The experiment was at first disastrous. The Bank was compelled to call in loans ; there was a money famine ; industry was crippled, and thousands of people lost their employment. The Senate censured the President, who was quite unmoved, and proceeded with his plan of withdrawing government deposits, and transferring them to certain State banks—"pet banks" as they were called. In due time credit was re-established and confidence returned ; but meanwhile Jackson's dictatorial conduct had caused the conservative wing of the Republican Party to change its name to Whig, because Henry Clay and his associates claimed that they were fighting a tyranny comparable to that of the British Crown, and it was therefore appropriate for them to adopt the name of the Whigs who had in the past fought against arbitrary forms of government.

On January 1st, 1835, the United States had paid off its National Debt. The Government found it was collecting more income from its duties and imposts than was needed to cover current expenditure. This remarkable and happy condition did not endure for long. There was a surplus, which was distributed to the individual states in the form of deposits which, theoretically, the Treasury could recall after giving due notice. These deposits were really dis-

guised loans for development ; but they were made without any conditions that would have ensured their effective use, and without any nationally conceived plan that would have given the states a lead regarding their employment. The amount received by each state was based upon the number of representatives it was entitled to send to Congress.

Only three payments were made to the states. The distribution of the surplus led to extensive dislocation of the existing banking machinery, and credit was seriously injured. Solvency had apparently embarrassed the Union.

Although Jackson's financial policy appeared to have some superficial success, it was constantly checked by unforeseen and unusual obstacles. For example, the "pet bank" scheme encouraged the formation of many worthless banks, which printed so much worthless money that the currency was debased. To remedy this, Jackson in 1836, acting once again on his own responsibility, issued a "Specie Circular." By this land agents were ordered to accept only gold or silver in payment for lands. The President was convinced that the specie circular solved all the financial troubles of the country. It was left to his successor to discover how greatly it had amplified them.

Jackson's first administration saw the introduction of the Spoils System. The democratic President had simple but regrettable notions about rewards for services rendered ; and offices of every kind were allotted to loyal supporters, irrespective of their fitness to hold them. This had a deplorable effect upon the efficiency of the civil service, and it prevented continuity in administrative work ; it also destroyed the ideal of impartial service, and made the political aspect of an appointment of greater importance than the correct and effective performance of the duties and obligations it carried. The spoils system is a noxious legacy.

Foreign affairs prospered. Jackson was the first Presi-

dent who succeeded in collecting from France the claims made by the United States for Napoleon's damage to American commerce. The money, amounting to \$5,000,000, was paid over in 1835, although the process of persuading France to part with it brought the two countries dangerously near war. An outstanding dispute with Great Britain regarding commercial restrictions was amicably settled.

Jackson's two terms of office were certainly eventful. They were filled with explosively controversial domestic problems, which provided continuous opportunities for self-expression to a man of action. After his re-election in 1832 a Tariff Act was passed, which re-organized and in some ways modified the whole protective system laid down by previous Acts. To this Act South Carolina vigorously objected. Opposition to tariffs had been growing in that state, and throughout the south. A state convention in South Carolina declared the Tariff Act null and asserted its readiness to back that declaration by force. Two years earlier, in January 1830, a debate in the Senate had ventilated the whole question, and Senator Hayne of South Carolina had put the case for states' rights, with particular reference to the tariff grievance. Hayne had suggested that it lay within the discretion of individual states to suspend the operation of Federal Laws, and Daniel Webster in a masterly reply made it clear that the logical conclusion of that argument was secession. He asserted that "the right of a State to annul a law of Congress cannot be maintained, but on the inalienable right of man to resist oppression; that is to say upon the ground of revolution."

Jackson answered South Carolina's Nullification Ordinance by a proclamation in which he bluntly stated that the real object of the nullifiers was disunion, and reminded them that "disunion by armed force is treason." He asked Congress for additional powers to enforce Federal

laws. This was called "the bloody bill" by the nullifiers; but nevertheless South Carolina suspended the Nullification Ordinance. The President, in a letter to a friend, looked into the future. "The Tariff was a mere excuse and a Southern Confederacy the 'real object,'" he wrote. "The next excuse will be the Negro or Slavery question."

In 1829 a Negro rising had taken place in Virginia. It was called "Nat Turner's Insurrection," and it was suppressed with frantic and disgusting savagery. Only fear combined with a sense of guilt could have prompted white men to such reprisals. Every Negro who was remotely connected with the rising, and many who had nothing whatever to do with it, were hanged, shot, decapitated or mutilated. In the same year the Abolitionist movement was founded by William Lloyd Garrison, a young New England journalist and printer. Those who had taken comfort from the adroit phrases and placid common sense of the Missouri Compromise were compelled to realize that the slavery question was still very much alive. As President Jackson suggested, it might well be the excuse for something bigger and more disastrous than an insurrection by a handful of slaves led by a half-crazed Negro like Nat Turner.

Slavery was a vested interest; one of the most powerful in the land. To oppose it was to be a crank and a fanatic. As an institution it was respected by the respectable. In *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, Marie St. Clair's enthusiasm for a preacher who had enlarged on the rectitude of the system indicated the feelings of the *right* sort of people. She reported the sermon in these words:

"The text was, 'He hath made everything beautiful in its season'; and he showed how all the orders and distinctions in society came from God; and that it was so appropriate, you know, and beautiful, that some should be high and some low, and that some were born to rule

and some to serve, and all that, you know; and he applied it so well to all this ridiculous fuss that is made about slavery, and he proved distinctly that the Bible was on our side, and supported all our institutions so convincingly. . . .”

The Abolitionists were not popular. Their meetings were broken up by mobs, their printing presses destroyed, their lives threatened. But anti-slavery pamphlets and papers multiplied; petitions were sent to Congress, and in 1836 the House of Representatives flouted the Bill of Rights by adopting a “gag” rule which virtually denied the right to petition. Under this rule it was ordered that “all petitions, memorials, resolutions, or papers, relating in any way or to any extent whatever to the subject of slavery or the abolition of slavery, shall, without being either printed or referred, be laid upon the table, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon.”

In 1836 Martin Van Buren was elected to the Presidency. In the following year, when he began his term of office, he was to reap the financial whirlwind which the good, plain democrat, the man of simple faith and honest action, had sown. Jackson thought he had clipped the claws of the “money power,” but he could no more arrest the growth of financial organization than Canute could halt the incoming tide. Congress by attempting to suppress the operation of the national conscience in the matter of slavery had undertaken an equally impossible task. But at the beginning of 1837 the country was full of hope; the west was calling irresistibly to energetic and capable men and women; and on January 27th of that year, at Springfield, Massachusetts, before the Young Men’s Lyceum, a dark-haired, tall, untidy man of twenty-eight, a lawyer and a member of the Illinois House of Representatives, delivered an address, in which he said:

“In the great journal of things happening under the

sun, we, the American people, find our account running under the date of the nineteenth century of the Christian era. We find ourselves in the peaceful possession of the fairest portion of the earth, as regards extent of territory, fertility of soil and salubrity of climate. We find ourselves under the government of a system of political institutions conducing more essentially to the ends of civil and religious liberty, than any of which the history of former times tells us."

Twenty-six years later that speaker was to extend liberty still further, for on January 1st, 1863, as President of the United States, he issued the Emancipation Proclamation. To the people he was known affectionately as "Old Abe"; to the world he was Abraham Lincoln.

Chapter Twelve

THE WEST AND THE PIONEERS

VAN BUREN succeeded Jackson as President on March 4th, 1837. He was fifty-five, and was the son of a farmer and innkeeper. He was indifferently educated, but he was an expert politician and his manipulation of the "spoils system" and of the political machine earned him the nickname of "Little Magician." He needed all the magic he could command to cope with the crisis that followed Jackson's second administration. A financial panic of unprecedented dimensions rocked the country. State banks collapsed, including many of the "pet banks," and public funds on deposit were involved in their bankruptcy. Treasury notes were issued by the government to alleviate the situation.

The plan for a government treasury that would operate independently was originated by Van Buren, and it was ultimately adopted by Congress in 1840. This "sub-treasury scheme," as it was termed, severed the connection between the government and the banks, and at that time its adoption and its effect supported Van Buren's belief that government interference in the financial affairs of the country was unsound. His contention that the panic would right itself was proved by events, but the firmness he displayed in carrying through the policy that expressed his ideas lost him the next election. Like John Adams, the

second president, he sacrificed his personal popularity in the exacting service of his country. Jackson, the ruthless fighter, had been a champion of democracy; a combination of Robin Hood and Jack-the-Giant-Killer in the eyes of the sovereign people: Van Buren had the thankless task of repairing the damage and restoring confidence.

The presidential campaign of 1840 was organized on lines that have since become familiar. There were campaign songs and slogans, processions, huge meetings, and all the dramatic appurtenances of propaganda—literary and pictorial. The candidates were hustled from one meeting to another. The Whigs ran General William Henry Harrison, for the presidency, and John Tyler, a democrat, for the vice-presidency. General Harrison was a popular idol; not quite in the Andrew Jackson class, but well known, well liked, and trusted. He was sixty-seven, and twenty-nine years earlier he had won the battle of Tippecanoe against the Indians. Harrison was the General who reoccupied the territory Hull had surrendered during the war of 1812.

“Tippecanoe and Tyler too!” was the election slogan, and a false but effectively dramatic atmosphere was created around General Harrison, because an injudicious sneer in a Democratic journal had implied that he would be more at home in a log-cabin than in the executive mansion. Now the log-cabin was a symbol of rugged democracy, and anybody who could claim one as his birth-place was certain of a sympathetic hearing—at least for a time. Actually only a part of Harrison’s home at North Bend, Ohio, was a log-cabin. He had been born in Berkeley, Charles City County, Virginia; his father, Benjamin Harrison, had been a prominent politician and one of the signatories of the Declaration of Independence. This comparatively slight connection with a log-cabin was ignored, and models of these primitive dwellings were trailed about on wheels,

and set up on village greens and vacant town lots. The fact that the General drank cider in his home was made much of; and, for election purposes, cider-drinking was applauded as a noble, democratic virtue. During the dust and heat of the campaign, Harrison became almost a legend. At the end of it he was a tired and exhausted old man, pestered by office-seekers, and all the rapacious hangers-on who profited by the spoils system. A month after his inauguration as President, he caught cold and died of pneumonia on April 4th, 1841.

John Tyler, the vice-president, went to the White House.

Many important issues had been obscured by the fog of election propaganda, the most significant being the activities of the anti-slavery party, which had put forward a presidential candidate, James Gillespie Birney. But popular attention had been temporarily diverted from the question of slavery: the public was spellbound by the glittering irrealties of the election; and the Whigs realized, only when it was too late, that by selecting Tyler as vice-president, largely as a vote-catching device to attract democratic support, they had saddled themselves with a man whose independence of mind was incompatible with their political programme. The Whigs wanted Congress to charter a national bank, which was to be known as the Fiscal Bank of the United States. Tyler vetoed the bill. The Democrats began to think they had won the election under false pretences: so did the Whigs when Tyler returned another bill with his veto. This was a modified version of the first bill, and it was framed to establish what was now described as the Fiscal Corporation. Tyler's Whig Cabinet, which had been appointed by Harrison, now resigned, except Daniel Webster, the Secretary of State. Tyler formed a new cabinet, consisting of Jacksonian democrats and Webster. The President was then formally expelled from the Whig Party.

Daniel Webster remained in office in order to continue some vital discussions with Great Britain regarding the question of boundaries in North America. The unsettled boundary of Maine was a danger zone, and for nearly sixty years discussions had been going on but getting nowhere; and now the American public was, quite unjustly, suspicious of Britain's designs in Oregon, California, and even Texas. In 1838-39 the citizens of Maine were in armed conflict with the inhabitants of New Brunswick over possession of the Aroostook Valley; and this unofficial war was ended by the conciliatory good sense of General Winfield Scott. (Section II, Maine, page 281.) This "Aroostook War" was a warning that no statesman could ignore. There had been other incidents, and in the abortive Canadian rebellions that had taken place in 1837, American citizens had given active assistance to the insurgents. The Canadian militia had captured the *Caroline*, an American steamer in the rebel service, and in the action an American citizen had been killed. A tactless Canadian, Alexander McLeod, proclaimed that he had killed this American, and as he made this statement in a New York saloon, he was arrested. The British Government demanded his release, and informed the United States Government that McLeod had merely obeyed orders. The Federal Government replied that it was unable to interfere with a state court. McLeod's acquittal ended the incident.

There were other explosive possibilities apart from the unsettled boundary between Maine and New Brunswick. The Canadian border between Lake Huron and the Lake of the Woods was undefined, and the Oregon boundary was also in dispute. (Section II, Oregon, page 303.) In a few years it was to flare up threateningly as the "Oregon Question," and bring Britain and America to the verge of war. But while that quarrel was still smouldering, two eminently reasonable men were allowed to examine certain

territorial problems in an atmosphere of calm good sense and with a civilized appreciation of the virtues of compromise.

Lord Ashburton was appointed by the British Government to visit Washington and to settle all outstanding disputes between the two countries. Alexander Baring, first baron Ashburton, had been President of the Board of Trade in 1834. He was a business man, and was the second son of Sir Francis Baring, the founder of the famous banking house of Baring Brothers & Co. He was a new variety of diplomat. With a practical knowledge of the financial structure of the world, and unhampered by preconceived ideas inherited from the previous century, he was ready and anxious to appreciate the peculiar qualities and the immense difficulties of the American nation. The result of his visit was the Webster-Ashburton Treaty in 1842, which cleared away all sorts of obsolete prejudices. Although Lord Ashburton was criticized for the generosity of some of the concessions he had made, and the treaty was described by a few British critics as the "Ashburton Capitulation," it was a boon to both countries. Apart from settling the north-eastern boundary of Maine, it agreed upon procedure for suppressing the overseas slave-trade, and established arrangements for the extradition of criminals.

The suspicions of the American people about British intentions in the far west were sharpened by their own desire to explore and occupy those regions. Neither the immensity of the western territories, nor the natural obstacles, nor the Indians fighting their long, losing battle against civilization, daunted the pioneers, whose wagons slowly crossed plains and prairies and deserts. Tough, determined men and brave, hard-working women were looking for new homes; they turned away from the commercial prosperity of the eastern states and chose instead

conditions that would, at first, allow them only a bare living. But they cheerfully faced the rigours of pioneering, for when they settled in new lands they would be their own masters. The choice of freedom or economic dependence was open to every enterprising American citizen in the middle years of the nineteenth century.

The cream of the population flowed westwards along the trails. Not only was the population growing, but immigration was increasing. Between 1831 and 1840, 283,191 immigrants arrived from the United Kingdom and 495,688 from Europe; in the next ten years that number was more than trebled, and European immigration stood at 1,597,502, while between 1851 and 1860 it reached the figure of 2,452,657. (See Immigration Graph, page 213.)

Against the irresistible pressure of an expanding population, against free men seeking free lands, the aboriginal inhabitants were powerless. They could and did attempt to hold up that inexorable advance, and the Indian wars were almost continuous and were always conducted with bloodthirsty ruthlessness. In every outbreak the Indians justified the passage in the Declaration of Independence, which described them as the "merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions." According to James Truslow Adams, the Indians had unstable nervous systems, "and they were of a markedly hysterical make-up, peculiarly susceptible to suggestion." (*The Epic of America*.) One form of suggestion to which they were not susceptible was that they should relinquish their lands and hunting grounds. Nearly every Indian war was directly or indirectly attributable to some proposal for the dispossession of a tribe or tribes or the rearrangement of territory that had been reserved for their reception.

The Black Hawk War, in 1831, was an armed protest by the Sauk and Fox tribes against the cession of their

territory in Wisconsin to the Federal Government. Black Hawk, the chief of those tribes, was a redoubtable warrior, and he began this war at the age of sixty-four. Although such experienced fighters as the Indians could be certain of local successes in war, and might even keep a campaign going for a few years, in the end they were nearly always driven from the territory they knew, and then scattered and hunted down, while their former lands were occupied by white settlers and policed by alert, efficient Federal troops. (Section II, Wisconsin, page 295.)

The Black Hawk War was soon over, and peace treaties were negotiated by General Winfield Scott with the Sauk, Fox, Winnebago, Menominee and Sioux Indians. The Sauks and Foxes were moved first to Iowa, then to Missouri, and finally to Indian Territory. The Winnebagos, who were a branch of the Dakota Indians, were moved on, settling finally on the Omaha reservation in eastern Nebraska. The Menominees remained in their original home on the Menominee river in Wisconsin, and gradually adopting the ways of white civilization, began to decrease in numbers.

It was possible to move or disperse comparatively small tribes; but the Sioux or Dakota Indians were a nation. The Sioux warriors were splendid specimens physically—courageous, skilful and independent. Their numbers in the mid-nineteenth century were between 30,000 and 35,000, divided into twenty-one sub-tribes. They terrorized other Indian tribes, and against the white settlers they conducted an intermittent war. Many years passed before the westward drive of civilization finally overtook them. In 1890, and when at last they had settled on various reservations, their numbers had dropped to 24,000.

The far western lands which attracted so many settlers were not under the jurisdiction of the United States. The Oregon Country was jointly occupied by America and

Britain ; and what are now the states of California, Nevada, Utah and Arizona were part of the Federated Mexican states. Texas was an independent state, the Lone Star Republic, governed by Americans.

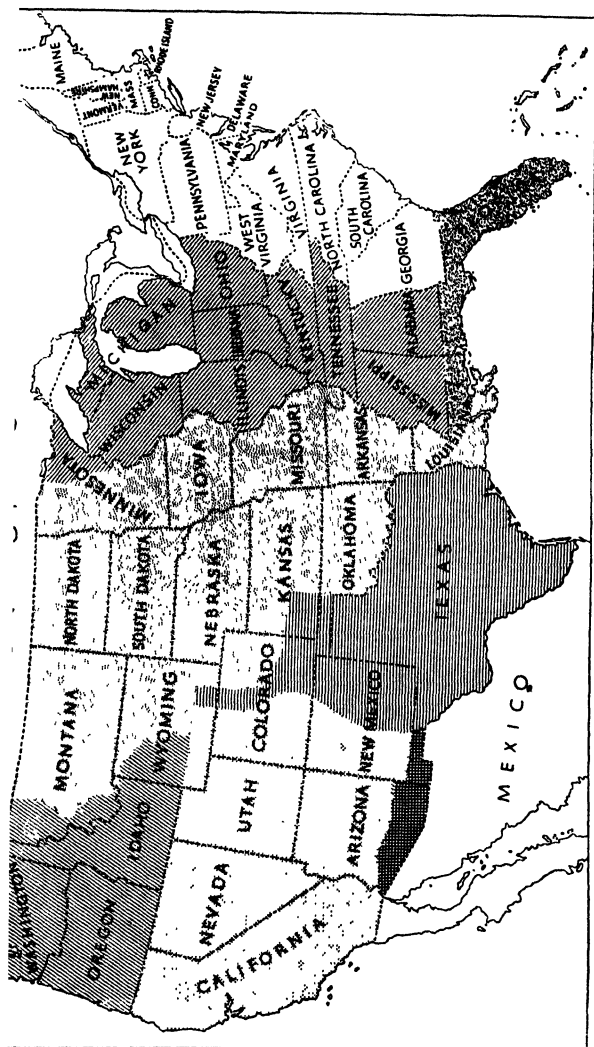
In the presidential election of 1844, the Democratic party put territorial expansion in its programme. They wanted Texas and Oregon, and when their candidate, James Knox Polk, was elected, the country was committed to active measures for bringing the south-west and the far west into the Union. Texas was admitted in 1845. The agitation for Oregon did much to dissipate the good feeling created between America and Britain by the Webster-Ashburton Treaty. The campaign raged during 1845, and the war spirit flamed up, fanned by such slogans as : " All Oregon, or none ! ", " Fifty-four forty or fight ! " Every inch of land between 54° and 40° was claimed by the Union. The slogans had been a great success in the election ; but as they brought the country closer and closer to a collision with Great Britain, and as war with the Mexican States also seemed imminent, the government hesitated. The Union had plenty of spirit, but prudence restrained the government from embarking on two wars simultaneously. Britain was invited to compromise, and a suggestion, made at an earlier date, that she should accept the 49th parallel as her southern boundary was renewed. This was refused, so President Polk, with the sanction of Congress, gave Britain one year's notice for the termination of the joint occupation of Oregon. Shortly after, Britain accepted the compromise, subject to her retention of Vancouver Island. This was agreed, and a treaty was signed in June, 1846. Oregon became a free territory, and the United States was now established on the Pacific coast.

In the spring of 1846 the Mexican war began. Mexico had never recognized the independence of Texas, and in 1843 the Mexican President had proclaimed that the

inclusion of Texas in the Union would be regarded by his government as a declaration of war. A Mexican force crossed the Rio Grande on April 24th, 1846, and cut up and captured a detachment of American cavalry. The American troops were on disputed territory, for the Mexicans contended that the Nueces was the southern boundary of Texas and not the Rio Grande. The President had ordered General Zachary Taylor and an American army to enter that territory; and his order might have been construed as a deliberate attempt to provoke hostilities. Some critics suggested that the government was determined to have an expansionist war, and to establish beyond dispute the power and domination of the Union on the North American continent. If this was so, then the Republic had certainly drifted far from Jefferson's democratic idealism; but the Republic was growing, and the Mexican war was an incident of its growth.

The war was enthusiastically supported by the south and west; but the abolitionists opposed it, for they imagined that new territory was to be brought into the Union and converted into slave states. The three principal campaigns were ably conducted, and the war was fought throughout on foreign soil.

California rebelled against Mexican rule, and some American settlers had for a few days established the Republic of the Bear. (Section II, California, page 297.) The conquest of California was rapidly completed by Colonel Stephen Kearney. In northern Mexico, the American forces were commanded by General Taylor, who defeated the Mexican President, Santa Anna, at Buena Vista, February 22nd and 23rd, 1847. In the south, General Winfield Scott captured Vera Cruz on March 27th, and prepared to march to Mexico City. (In his expeditionary force were three junior officers, whose names were Robert E. Lee, G. B. McClellan and Ulysses S. Grant.)



11. Territories acquired after the Mexican War. The original territory of the thirteen colonies is shown unshaded. The dates and the shading represent the following extensions of territory :—1783 : Acquired during the War of Independence and by treaty. 1803 : The Louisiana purchase. 1819 : The Florida purchase. 1845 : Texas annexation. 1846 : Acquired by treaty with Great Britain. 1848 : Ceded by Mexico. 1853 : Purchased from Mexico.

The march was efficiently conducted, and after some severe engagements, Santa Anna agreed to an armistice in August. But the fighting was continued early in September, and on the 17th of that month, Mexico City surrendered, and was occupied by the American army.

On February 2nd, 1848, the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was negotiated, and it was ratified by Congress a month later. It gave Upper California and New Mexico to the United States, and established the Rio Grande as the boundary of Texas. The west was secured, and the frontier was now the Pacific.

Over the Santa Fé, the Spanish and the Texas Trails in the south-west, and over the Salt Lake and California and Oregon trails in the heart of the far west, men were soon pouring, caught and charmed and urged on by the same bait that had lured the gentleman adventurers to the Americas in the sixteenth century; for in 1848 gold was discovered in California.

Chapter Thirteen

SLAVE OR FREE

ZACHARY TAYLOR, "Old Rough and Ready," as the troops called him, was nominated by the Whigs as their candidate for the presidential election of 1848. He was sixty-four; a bluff, simple-minded soldier, with a fine military career behind him, and a hero of the recent Mexican War. He had no particular interest in politics, but the Whigs thought a successful general might win an election; and the public, rather dismayed by the growing complexity and bitterness of the political situation, turned with relief to a man of action.

The political parties were losing their definition; political beliefs were everywhere blurred and confused; a great moral issue was insistently invading every national problem, and influencing the thoughts of every citizen. Men and women all over the Union had to answer to their own satisfaction the question: *Is Slavery right or wrong?* There were many comfortable and respectable ways of parrying the question, and the politicians had tried most of them; but ordinary people with a Christian upbringing were beginning to feel uncomfortable when it was asked. They hoped that General Taylor might, in a plain, soldierly way, provide an answer that would restore their peace of mind and soothe their consciences.

He was elected president, and he was immediately faced with the problem of admitting California to the Union as a slave or a free state. He decided to leave the matter to local option. This was the fair and obvious way of settling the question when it affected the admission of new states to the Union or the organising of new territories ; but it did not appeal to professional politicians, and it infuriated the South. To ease the situation Henry Clay produced an elaborate compromise scheme, a rickety structure that lacked any moral foundation. He attempted to minimize the feelings the slavery question aroused by suggesting that in the North people were indulging in sentiment. It was implied that this did more credit to their hearts than to their heads. In the South, admittedly, self-interest was the principal factor.

His compromise scheme was intended to secure helpful concessions from both parties. It merely demonstrated how impossible it was for a cultivated gentleman, brought up in the tradition of slave-holding, and informed by a lifetime of political experience, to face or answer the question which thousands of his countrymen were asking themselves : *Is Slavery right or wrong?* He hoped that the compromise would relieve the growing tension between North and South, for he saw how rapidly the country was drifting towards disunion. The South objected to California being admitted as a free state, because by making sixteen free to fifteen slave states it would alter the balance of power in the Senate. The territory of Deseret (Utah), which had been settled by the Mormons, applied for admission to the Union. (Section II, Utah, page 318.) The North insisted that the Wilmot Proviso should be applied to this territory. This Proviso, introduced by David Wilmot of Pennsylvania, had in 1846 been attached to a bill which allocated money for the purchase of land from Mexico : it was intended to forbid slavery for ever in any territory

thus acquired. The Proviso was never passed, but the North resolved that it should become law ; and the South determined to leave the Union if it did. The South wanted to strengthen legislation for the capture and return of fugitive slaves. The North wanted slavery and the slave-trade abolished in the District of Columbia.

Henry Clá y attempted to patch up a workable agreement. He suggested that California should be admitted as a free state ; that territorial governments should be organized in Deseret (Utah) and New Mexico without any restriction on slavery ; that more stringent legislation should be introduced to compel the return of fugitive slaves to their owners ; and that the slave-trade but not slavery should be abolished in the District of Columbia. His compromise proposals also covered certain territorial and financial adjustments that affected Texas and New Mexico ; but the final point he made was that Congress had no power to interfere with the slave-trade between the states.

The compromise was debated, and Clay made the first speech, defending its moderation and its excellent intentions. John C. Calhoun, who was on the point of death, had his speech read to the Senate by Senator Mason of Virginia. He demanded equal rights in the new districts, an effective fugitive slave law, and the abandonment of the idea of abolition by the North. Daniel Webster shocked and surprised the North by advocating compromise. These were the speeches of old men, anxious to keep things as they were, dreading the conflict that threatened the Union, eager to support any measures that would preserve peace. They had forgotten that all over the Union schoolboys were taught the words once used by Patrick Henry : " Is life so dear or peace so sweet as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery ? Forbid it, Almighty God ! I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death ! "

There was a new voice in the Senate, and on March 11th, William Henry Seward attacked Clay's compromise proposals in a speech which stirred the whole country. His words recalled the early days of the Union, when its leaders had the courage to affirm beliefs and to support ideals that transcended political convenience and material interest. He reminded the Senate that in organizing new territories there was "a higher law than the Constitution which regulates our authority over the domain. . . ."

The Democrats attacked this speech, and Seward lost his courage and tried to modify it with explanations which did little credit to his wisdom as a politician or his sincerity as a man. But he could not undo the effect of his words.

The debate continued on the compromise and the bills that were presently prepared to put some of its provisions into operation; but it was interrupted by the death of President Taylor early in July. Millard Fillmore, the vice-president, took his place.

In 1850 the Fugitive Slave Act was passed which allowed slave-owners to send their agents into the free states to recover their property. A reclaimed slave could not demand a trial by jury; but anybody attempting to rescue a slave who was being dragged back to the South, had to be tried, if arrested, and hundreds of prosecutions took place. The horrors of slavery and the foulness of a system that could legally regard men, women and children, as so much "property," were now brought home to the North, and thousands of people whose sympathy had been unmoved by the propaganda of the abolitionists were stirred by the human implications of the Fugitive Slave Act.

In 1852 the Whigs lost the presidential election, and the party began to disintegrate. A new "American" party attempted to replace them. It was formed partly to keep the government in the hands of native Americans, for the

increase of immigration had brought thousands of foreigners into the country, mostly Irish and German. Between 1831 and 1840 the immigrants included 207,281 from Ireland, 152,454 from Germany, 73,143 from England, 45,575 from France; and in the following decade, 1841-50, those figures had risen as follows: Ireland, 780,719; Germany, 434,626; England, 263,332; France, 77,262.

This party was nicknamed the "Know-Nothing" Party, for its organization was secret, and no member would admit to any knowledge of its government or councils. Many Whigs joined it, but its existence only helped to confuse the political situation still more profoundly. Politics had become unreal. Only one issue had significance, the issue of slavery, which was separating North from South.

In 1852 an event occurred which was more important than a presidential election, and which was to have an effect upon national thought that was so disturbing, that no statesman or politician would have cared to predict its ultimate consequences. On March 20th a novel was published called *Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Life Among the Lowly*. It was by Harriet Beecher Stowe, the wife of Professor Stowe of Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine. Within a year 300,000 copies were sold, a mammoth figure for those days; and it was read all over the North and was also popular in the South. It shook the whole country, and drove many a sluggish conscience to dismayed activity. Apart from its burning indictment of slavery, it was a moving story. It soon achieved a world-wide fame, and was translated into more than twenty languages. The Earl of Carlisle wrote a preface to the English edition. The book was quoted and argued about, and the characters stepped from the pages and lived with readers for the rest of their lives. Simon Legree became a monstrous symbol of the brutal slave-owner, and the world took Topsy and her sayings to

its heart, laughed over their quaintness, and repeated them. It was impossible to forget the book, impossible to condone the condition of society it portrayed, impossible thereafter to listen with polite attention to the conventional argument that, on the whole, the Negro was better off as a slave than he would be as a free man. The day had gone for ever when such views carried conviction.

A generation was growing up that had read *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. Their youth was darkened by the shadow of disunion. Incident followed incident.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854 organized the territories of Kansas and Nebraska, and left the question of slavery to local option. Both those territories were north of the parallel, $36^{\circ} 30'$, the agreed northern limit of the area west of the Mississippi, which had been the basis of the Missouri Compromise. (Chapter X, page 108.)

By this act the Missouri Compromise was nullified. The results were chaotic. A party, whose sole reason for existence was opposition to this bill, was formed, and it took the clumsy name of the "Anti-Nebraska Men." It focused opposition so vigorously that it swept into power at the Congressional elections of 1854, gathering up a variety of supporters in its progress, and uniting at last under the name of the "Republican" party. The Whigs disappeared, and the presidential election of 1856 was contested by three parties, Republican, Democratic, and "Know-Nothing."

The democratic candidate, James Buchanan, was elected. The republican candidate was John C. Frémont, a young soldier whose share in the conquest of California had given him great popularity. He secured a large proportion of the popular vote, and this represented an anti-slavery vote, for his programme had condemned the introduction of slavery to the territories. The "Know-Nothing" candidate was ex-President Fillmore. The figures of the popular

vote were as follows: Buchanan, 1,838,169; Frémont, 1,341,264; Fillmore, 874,534.

In 1857 the Dred Scott case was decided by the Supreme Court. It was important because it concerned the constitutional validity of the Missouri Compromise. Dred Scott was a Missouri slave who had been taken to the free state of Illinois in 1834, and in 1836 to Minnesota. Two years later he was taken back to Missouri, and in 1852 was sold to a citizen of New York. Some time after his return to Missouri, he had sued for his freedom; and after his sale in 1852 he transferred his suit from the state to the Federal courts, and the case ultimately reached the Supreme Court. Chief-Justice Taney, who presided, ruled that a slave or the descendants of a slave had no standing in a United States Court. In giving his decision he declared the Missouri Compromise to be unconstitutional, and therefore null and void, and that slave-owners could take their human property anywhere they pleased in the Union. The highest legal authority in the land thus confirmed the absolute authority of the slave-owner.

Another event of the year 1857, was the civil war in Kansas between the free-state and the pro-slavery settlers. (Section II, Kansas, page 307). It was the culmination of a long campaign encouraged and partly conducted by Missouri slave-owners, and it ended with the collapse of their power.

One of the most conspicuous figures in this warfare was a fanatical abolitionist leader named John Brown. He was born in Connecticut in 1800, but had spent his childhood and youth in Ohio. He was an advocate of vigorous action, and in 1855 he and five of his sons were in Kansas at the beginning of the conflict which developed later into civil war in that territory. He was responsible for killing in cold blood five pro-slavery settlers as a reprisal for the murder of five free-state settlers. This took place on May 25th;

1856, and was known as the Pottawatomie massacre. Brown then spent some time in the eastern states, raising funds to finance a scheme for helping fugitive slaves. He intended to make a stronghold in the mountains of Virginia, where runaway slaves could defend themselves. This plan developed into armed rebellion, which ended at Harper's Ferry during October 1859, when Brown captured a Federal arsenal. His force consisted of eighteen men, five of whom were Negroes, and he was defeated by a party of United States marines under Colonel Robert E. Lee.

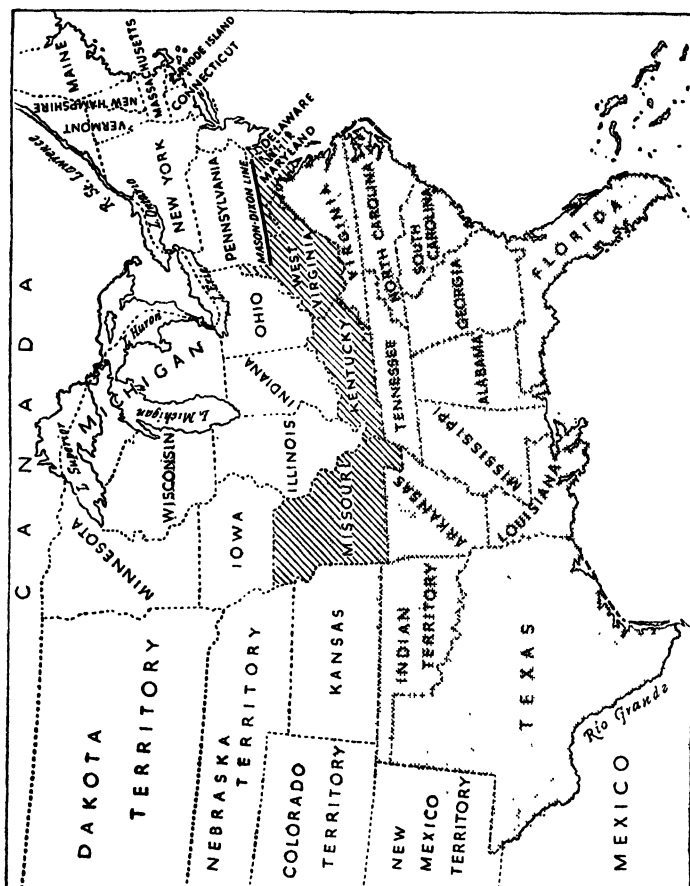
Brown was tried at Charlestown, Virginia, and on October 31st, was convicted of "treason, and conspiring and advising with slaves and other rebels, and murder in the first degree." He was hanged at Charlestown on December 2nd.

John Brown's fanatical folly had given the South a new and alarming idea of what might arise from an anti-slavery movement. If the abolitionists intended to foment a slave insurrection, there was no alternative but secession. Slave-owners would have to protect not only their property, but their lives. In the North, Brown was widely and quite unjustly represented as a hero and a martyr. His name was commemorated in a popular song that was soon to become a war song in the North :

John Brown's body lies a-mouldering in the grave,
But his soul goes marching on.

To the tune of that song two years later, Julia Ward Howe wrote *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*, while she was at the front. The words have majesty and beauty, and in every line suggest that for the North the conflict was in the nature of a Holy War.

Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord,
He is trampling out the vintage where the grapes of wrath are stored ;
He hath loosed the fateful lightning of His terrible swift sword,
His Truth is marching on.



12. The slave states and the seceding states. The diagonal shading indicates slave states that did not secede.

At the Republican national convention, which met at Chicago in May 1860, Abraham Lincoln was nominated for the presidency. The Republicans won the election, and on March 4th, 1861, Lincoln was inaugurated as sixteenth President. Before him was the task of preserving the Union. The time for compromise had passed, and when Lincoln was inaugurated, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas had already seceded, and had set up a provisional government under the title of "The Confederate States of America."

What Jefferson had foreseen, what Andrew Jackson had feared, had come to pass.

Chapter Fourteen

THE CIVIL WAR

IN the year 1860, the United States was a vigorous, expanding community. The political dissensions of Congress, and the moral cleavage between North and South did not arrest the process of growth, nor was the flow of new settlers and adventurers into the western lands interrupted. The wagons had been followed by the railways. In 1830 the total length of railway lines was approximately 40 miles : in 1860 it was 30,283. The great lakes were at an early date connected with the Atlantic coast by railway. Decade by decade development was accelerated, and during the eighteen-fifties track extensions were enormous, amounting to over 21,000 miles in ten years.

Trains that ran on those lines did not, like English trains, inherit the form of the stage coach and become a series of compartments ; the long saloon cars of the American railroads, with their central aisles and their conductor's platforms at either end, had more in common with the luxurious steamboats which plied on the waterways. The designers of the cars may have been influenced by the character of those boats which were as familiar in America as the stage coach was in England in the early days of railroads.

Steam was responsible for the swift expansion of the

states in the Mississippi valley, and on the great river, its tributaries and the system of waterways that linked up with the great lakes, the tall-funnelled paddle-boats and stern-wheelers bore an ever-increasing volume of traffic. Apart from carrying traffic those vessels established a habit of mind, so that it became a national characteristic for Americans to accept mechanical locomotion with a readiness that was unknown in Europe. This acceptance of steam-boats and railroads as essential parts of life, prevented the citizens of the Republic from being intimidated by the sheer immensity of their own country. Nothing was impossible and the rewards of enterprise were princely. To build railways financial risks were run, colossal fortunes were made, and development proceeded in great, disorderly strides, but at high speed, under the control of men with a superb and inexhaustible appetite for new adventures. Private enterprise was playing its part, watching its own interests, risking its capital, covering its frequent losses with large gains, and, so far as transport was concerned, delivering the goods to the American nation. Critics in later generations might condemn the early railway kings as socially irresponsible; but in their day they were actively useful. They gave the country the traffic facilities it urgently needed, and they were handsomely paid for their initiative.

Fortune-hunting in a new land had both convenient and inconvenient by-products; it gave America railroads, and it littered the far west with abandoned or worked-out enterprises, ghost towns that had once been mining camps thronged with life. Private enterprise destroyed forests and prairies; it ignored the future—what did the future matter?—the frontier was still fluid, and to-morrow men of spirit would be seeking fortunes still farther to the west. Thousands had followed the advice given by that statesman and journalist, Horace Greeley, in his *Hints*

Towards Reform : "Go West, young man, and grow up with the country." For all that careless, fertile individualism America to-day has reaped the whirlwind—and the dust-bowl is one of the consequences of an improvident disregard for posterity.

On the east coast commerce had consolidated its gains. The seaports were prosperous ; the American shipbuilders had amazed the world by their skill, and the tea-clippers had marked a stage in naval architecture comparable in reasoned beauty with the highest achievements of Greek architects in marble. The Stars and Stripes flew in every port in the world, and America, bounded by two great oceans, realized in her own national and individual way her heritage of sea traditions. Her seamen sought new markets. In 1853, Commodore Matthew C. Perry persuaded Japan to allow two ports to be opened to American trade. Japan was then a closed country, self-contained and cut off from the rest of the world. Ten years later a joint British and American naval demonstration completed the process of persuasion, and Japan entered into trading relations with America and Britain.

In 1850 the United States and Britain negotiated a treaty which regulated the scope of their interests in Central America. Already America was anticipating the time when a canal should join the Pacific and the Atlantic oceans. This treaty was the work of John M. Clayton, the American Secretary of State, and Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, and it was known as the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.

America was a power in the world, wealthy, prosperous, and dedicated to a career of progress that astonished the nations of Europe. There were checks in that progress, financial setbacks and panics, when speculation ran amuck, and fortunes were made and lost ; but those were petty incidents, and the pioneers and adventurers, the gold-seekers, and all the men who were looking for freedom and

fortune were undeterred by risks and discouragements. America continued to draw immigrants in increasing numbers from Europe and the United Kingdom. Between 1851 and 1860, from a total of 3,790,750 immigrants, 951,667 came from Germany, 914,119 from Ireland, 385,643 from England, 76,358 from France, 38,331 from Scotland, 25,011 from Switzerland, 20,931 from Scandinavia, 10,789 from the Netherlands, and 10,353 from Spain and Portugal.

Then came a pause in progress. Reluctantly men turned aside from enterprise to settle something that had not been faced when America became a nation. Unless it was settled, America could not continue as a nation. The census of 1860 showed that in the North there was a population of nineteen millions, in the South only twelve, four millions being Negro slaves. The Confederacy consisted at first of seven states : South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Louisiana, Texas, Alabama, and Mississippi. Of the remaining slave states, only four joined the Confederacy : Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas. Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky and Missouri, after prolonged internal troubles, remained with the Union, although thousands of men from those states served with the Confederate armies.

Jefferson Davis was elected President of the Confederate States by the unanimous vote of the Provisional Congress. He was inaugurated on February 18th, 1861. He was a soldier and a statesman, and, until hostilities had actually begun, was strongly in favour of a conference at which peace terms could have been discussed.

Jefferson Davis was born in 1808, and during his career as a soldier he had seen service in the latter part of the Black Hawk War, also in the northern campaign of the Mexican War, under General Zachary Taylor, who was his father-in-law. After the Mexican War, he distinguished himself as a Senator. He had a cool, logical mind ; he had the gift of leadership, and possessed great personal

charm of manner. He was inclined to concern himself wholly with the legal and logical aspects of a case and to ignore in many situations the human element. He was unswervingly loyal to his friends, and his confidence was often misplaced and given to men of proved inability. His organizing powers were considerable. He was able to create in an extremely short space of time a fine army, and he arranged and maintained the supply of munitions, building and staffing factories in regions where no industry had previously existed. He directed the foreign relations of the Confederate States with such brilliant success that in an early stage of the war, he had won from an influential and popular minister of the Crown in Great Britain, an unwise but remarkable tribute.

In October 1862, Mr. W. E. Gladstone committed himself in a speech at Newcastle, to the following statement :

"We may have our opinions about slavery, we may be for or against the South, but there is no doubt that Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South have made an army ; they are making, it appears, a navy ; and they have made what is more than either, they have made a nation."

The Union was led by Abraham Lincoln. Upon that lonely man rested a responsibility as severe and crushing as that endured by Washington during the War of Independence. He had able men to help him, and his cabinet included William Seward, Secretary of State, Salmon Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, Simon Cameron, Secretary of War, who was replaced later by Edwin Stanton ; and Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy. Although Seward had ambitions, and was prepared to take any amount of responsibility, it was soon obvious to the cabinet that the President was their leader.

Lincoln was born in Kentucky in 1809. He was a man of the people who understood and loved his fellow-men. He was self-educated, and he raised himself by his talents to

a position of eminence in the legal profession. He was infinitely patient ; a kindly, good-tempered man, with a clear mind and a remarkable memory. His humour, his inexhaustible fund of anecdotes, his sympathy with people in all walks of life, contributed to his success as a lawyer and a politician. He had behind him an immense background of varied work and activity. He had been a hired hand on a river-boat ; an assistant store-keeper ; a post-master in New Salem, and a not very successful soldier in the Black Hawk War. He was in charge of a company of troops, and on one occasion was reprimanded for the lax discipline of his command. Lincoln was a gaunt, rather ungainly figure ; he was six-foot-four, lean and muscular, and had been an athlete in his youth.

It was to this man that the Republican Party turned in the crisis of 1860. Their choice was justified. Lincoln represented the genius of America, as truly and greatly as Franklin or Jefferson. He never forgot his responsibility for preserving the Union. The terrible decision of making war rested with him. The temptation to avoid war by patching up a compromise with the seceding states was considerable ; but Lincoln realized that any compromise would betray the principle of union, and would lead to the formation of two separate countries, individually weakened by their separation, and perhaps permanently antagonistic in their outlook. He hated the institution of slavery, but he was determined that only by Constitutional means should that particular question be settled.

The Civil War lasted four years ; and it began with the fall of Fort Sumter. Lincoln's administration had only been in office a few weeks when the first shots of the war were fired. Orders had been given by the government to re-provision Fort Sumter in South Carolina, and an expedition was despatched with the necessary supplies. The state troops had manned batteries round the Fort, and South

Carolina considered that the assertion of Federal authority in relieving the Fort was a challenge to state rights and to the right of secession. The batteries opened fire on the Fort, and after a bombardment of thirty-six hours, it surrendered on April 14th, 1861.

Lincoln's government was not prepared for war. The President called for 75,000 volunteers, and there was an instant and enthusiastic response. Far more than the number required presented themselves for enlistment, and the North and the far West rallied to the support of the Union.

Although firm in his determination to preserve the Union and to end the rebellion of the southern states, Lincoln let it be known that moderation would be his policy after the conflict, and that those who were fighting for the Union should remember that their responsibility included all the states, loyal and disloyal, and that in putting down this rebellion they were fighting for the American nation. In the course of a message to a special session of Congress on July 4th, 1861, the President said :

"Lest there be some uneasiness in the minds of candid men as to what is to be the course of the government toward the Southern States *after* the rebellion shall have been suppressed, the Executive deems it proper to say it will be his purpose then, as ever, to be guided by the Constitution and the laws, and that he probably will have no different understanding of the powers and duties of the Federal Government relatively to the rights of the States and the people under the Constitution than that expressed in the inaugural address.

"He desires to preserve the Government, that it may be administered for all as it was administered by the men who made it. Loyal citizens everywhere have the right to claim this of their government, and the government has no right to withhold or neglect it. It is not perceived that

in giving it there is any coercion, any conquest, or any subjugation in any just sense of those terms."

The General-in-Chief of the United States Army was Winfield Scott, and he recommended that the Commander of the Field Army should be Colonel Robert E. Lee. Lee was a Virginian, and his loyalties were divided, but on April 20th he sent his resignation to General Scott, and two days later the Virginia Convention gave him the command of the Virginia troops, which were opposed to the Federal forces. Later he became the Commander-in-Chief of the Confederate armies. Nearly a third of the officers of the Army and Navy went over to the Confederates.

The first serious battle of the war took place on July 21st, at Bull Run in Manassas Gap, one of the passes from eastern Virginia to the Shenandoah Valley. After a stubborn fight, the Federal Army was defeated. The Confederate forces did not follow up their success; and in fact, troops on both sides were so ill-disciplined that it is doubtful whether any decisive victory could have been gained at that stage of the war. Many of the Confederate soldiers regarded the war as already won, and returned home after the battle. The Confederates were commanded by General Joseph E. Johnson and Brigadier-General Beauregard, who had been the officer in charge of the bombardment of Fort Sumter. The Federals were led by General McDowell.

This first battle of Bull Run did great harm to Confederate morale. It lulled the troops into an easy-going frame of mind. During the comparative inactivity of the Confederate forces after this battle, the armies of the Union were expanded and put into some kind of shape. There were skirmishes of an inconclusive kind during the first year of the war, and it was not realized by either side that they were engaged in a struggle in which new and unusual elements affected both the conduct and the movements of

troops. The American Civil War may be regarded as the first of the big, modern wars, in which machinery as well as men played a part. Troop-movements were accelerated by the use of railways; armaments were on a larger scale, and presently on the water armoured floating batteries began that revolution in naval warfare which was to lead to the ironclad and ultimately to the gigantic, heavily-armoured battleships and battle-cruisers of the twentieth century.

The progenitors of modern battleships were the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*. The *Merrimac* was a frigate with a superstructure of iron plates; Confederate naval architects designed her armour, and she was ready for service in March 1862. The *Monitor* was constructed by the Federals, and was also protected by armour.

These two clumsy experiments met on March 9th, 1862, and they hammered each other without gaining a decision. But their appearance marked the end of wooden navies all over the world. No ship built of timber could stand up to the gunfire of the *Merrimac*.

They were fairly equally matched, and the *Monitor* certainly prevented the *Merrimac* from gaining complete control of the naval situation. After they had met and fought their indecisive action, the two ships had but one task: to watch each other's movements.

The Federal Navy blockaded the coast, and stopped the export of cotton from the southern states, and the import of munitions. The North secured the command of the sea, and protected American commerce. New Orleans was captured early in 1862, and some sections of the Mississippi were opened up to Federal gunboats.

In England during June 1862, a vessel was on the stocks at Laird's shipbuilding yard in Birkenhead. She was known as No. 290. On July 28th she sailed from the Mersey estuary, made for the Azores, where she was fitted out as

a commerce-destroyer, and named the *Alabama*. Captain Semms, holding a commission from the Confederate government, took command, and she began a long and active career, becoming the terror of Federal shipping. She was not sunk until two years later, and during that time she did infinite damage, which led ultimately to the *Alabama* arbitration in 1871-72, when Great Britain paid the United States \$15,500,000 in gold as compensation.

The building of the *Alabama* in an English port and her release as a man-of-war was regarded by the American Government as a most unfriendly act. Altogether five Confederate privateers were built in British shipyards. The old, contemptuous obtuseness which had afflicted sections of the British governing classes in the past now reasserted itself, and sympathy was openly expressed with the South. In that year of strained feelings between the two countries, when the *Alabama* was beginning her career, the folly of Gladstone's Newcastle speech was inexcusable. In the House of Commons, John Bright raised the question of the *Alabama*, and the member for Birkenhead, Mr. Laird, "declared that he would rather be known as the builder of a dozen *Alabamas*, than be a man who, like Mr. Bright, had set class against class; and the majority of the House applauded him to the echo." (*A Short History of Our Own Times*, by Justin McCarthy, Chapter XVIII.)

Quite early in the Civil War Britain had been dangerously near a clash with the United States. A despatch drafted by Lord John Russell was couched in such language that it would have been difficult to preserve peace if it had been delivered to Washington. It was submitted to the Queen, and was scrutinized by the Prince Consort, then in the early stages of his last illness. The Prince modified the severity of the language and made some constructive suggestions; the British Government had the sense to

accept his views and a totally unnecessary quarrel with America was averted.

Jealousy, stupidity, and prejudice formed the views of many men and women in positions of power and responsibility in mid-Victorian England, and to such warped reactionaries America seemed an awful warning of what might happen to the common people, if once they got an opportunity to better themselves. As much nonsense was talked in England about America in the fifties and sixties as was talked about Russia in the nineteen-twenties, and about Republican Spain in the nineteen-thirties. But the people of England, including the Lancashire cotton-spinners who were starving as a result of the blockade of the cotton states, were solidly behind Lincoln and his government. To them, and to such enlightened leaders of thought as John Bright, the issue was clear : the Civil War was being fought to end a monstrous and disgusting evil, and it is difficult to understand how sympathy could be maintained for the southern slave-owners.

Nearly ten years before the Civil War, the Earl of Carlisle, in his preface to an English edition of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, had written these words about slavery :

"We must never forget that we originally introduced the pestilent system into our Colonies, and that we did much to fasten and rivet it upon them when they were indifferent or reluctant. At the same time, it is to be noted that the onward course of the present century, which has witnessed, in England, the successive abolitions of the slave-trade and of slavery, and, in the United States, the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law, is daily tending to diminish the appositeness of this plea of complicity. However, again, we must bear in mind that the difficulties with which even we had to contend in achieving this great consummation, and which cost us years of arduous struggle and repeated disappointment, are infinitely multiplied in a country where

slavery is not relegated, as it was with us, to distant colonies and separate islands, but is spread over immense portions of their continent, throngs in their markets, jostles in their streets, nestles in their homes, and festers in the very sanctuary of their constitution; so that even the very heartiest detester of slavery amongst us must feel, that even if he could be invested for a moment with absolute power, he would be utterly at a loss to know what he could in wisdom recommend, or what assured remedy he could prescribe for this pervading and dominating evil. And above all, even supposing that we had the right to reproach, or the sagacity to advise, we should be most careful, on the score of policy, that the manner and tone of our partisanship, to use the word in its best sense, does not damage the cause we have most at heart, and actually injure the afflicted race for whom I know there are those amongst us who would willingly lay down their lives."

Lincoln had said that his object was to save the Union and neither to preserve nor destroy slavery. "If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it."

On September 22nd, 1862, he issued a Proclamation which stated that on January 1st, 1863, he would declare free all slaves in any part of the country which at that time should be in rebellion against the Union. This Emancipation Proclamation was duly issued. The intentions of the Federal Government were clear to all the world: the rebellion was to be ended, the Union preserved, and it was for ever to be freed from the system of slavery.

The war was conducted with stubborn determination by both sides. The South raised a fine army, and, more slowly, the Federal forces were trained and equipped. The industrial resources of the North, and the blockade imposed by the Federal fleet, meant that year by year,

however the land fighting went, the North grew stronger and the South grew weaker. The operations of the war were scattered over a great area. During 1862 there were many battles, and the Federal forces were again defeated at Bull Run. General Ulysses Grant penetrated to Tennessee and proved his quality in beating off the Confederates under General Johnson. The Federal forces captured Corinth in May, and Memphis in June. These battles opened the Mississippi from Cairo to Memphis, and from the sea, northwards, beyond New Orleans; but the Confederates held Vicksburg and their batteries at that place barred through-traffic on the river.

A Confederate Army, under Robert E. Lee, attempted the invasion of Maryland, but was forced to retire by a Federal Army under McClellan. This action took place on the banks of the Antietam on September 17th, 1862.

Bad leadership wasted thousands of troops in the Union Army, and a typical example of this was the assault on Fredericksburg, when thirteen thousand Federal soldiers were killed in taking a position which was of no value and which cost the defenders only four thousand men. Grant was by far the best soldier on the Federal side, but it was some time before he was given a free hand, and allowed to pick his own officers. Political interference with army commands occasionally saddled the Federal forces with officers whose accomplishments as good party men were superior to their military gifts.

During 1863 the war went badly for the Confederates. Early in the year General Joseph Hooker reorganized the Army of the Potomac, and began operations against Lee. Lee was at first out-manceuvred, but the Federal forces were brought to battle at Chancellorsville, and were forced to retire. During that battle General Thomas Jonathan Jackson, famous as "Stonewall" Jackson, was mortally wounded. He was one of the ablest of the Confederate

Generals, and he had gained his nickname at the first battle of Bull Run, when the men he had trained remained steady as a stone wall, during a critical phase of the battle. After the battle of Chancellorsville, Lee attempted another invasion of the North, but was defeated by the army of the Potomac. Hooker was succeeded by General G. G. Meade, an officer in whom President Lincoln had the greatest confidence. Meade was instrumental in defeating Lee at the Battle of Gettysburg which took place on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd July. The Confederate forces never recovered from this blow, and although hostilities continued, and many other actions were fought, the Battle of Gettysburg may be regarded as the turning-point in the war.

Grant was given the chief command in the west, and the army of the Tennessee was placed under General Sherman. The Confederates were defeated at Vicksburg and Chattanooga, and by the end of 1863, the South had lost the war. Henceforward, they were engaged in a losing fight. The Federal armies, strong in resources, led by men who had been tested and tried both by victory and defeat, were becoming irresistible.

In the autumn of the following year, General Sherman made his famous march through Georgia to the sea. The march ended with the occupation of Savannah on December 20th, and that march of fifty thousand men was the most effective military operation of the war. The march through Georgia is bitterly remembered in the South to this day, for Sherman's army destroyed everything of military importance, and their passage left a scar of devastation across the state. The Federal troops looked at it another way, as the last verse of their marching-song suggested :

So we made a thoroughfare for Freedom and her train,
Sixty miles in latitude, three hundred to the main,
Treason fled before us, for resistance was in vain,
While we were marching through Georgia.

Hurrah! Hurrah! we bring the Jubilee,
Hurrah! Hurrah! the flag that makes you free!
So we sang the chorus from Atlanta to the sea,
While we were marching through Georgia.

On a November afternoon in 1863, thousands of people attended a ceremony when a monument to those who had given their lives in the war was dedicated at the field of Gettysburg. Everybody was confident now about the final victory. People, too, were talking in terms of revenge; the South would have to pay for their folly; the slave-owners would have to taste their own medicine. Lincoln, saddened by the war and its horrors and wastage, did his best to check the growth of these revengeful feelings. On his way to the celebration at Gettysburg, he made notes for a speech. He knew there would be a large and rather brilliant gathering, and he had to make the second speech. The first speaker had a great reputation as an orator. People took the greatest pleasure in listening to him. He had a reputation for polished, beautifully turned phrases, and he handled words in a scholarly way, wove them into decorative patterns, and unfurled a rich fabric of culture before every audience he addressed. Perhaps Lincoln thought that, after a speech by such a man, his own few plain sentences would fall flat, even though they were pruned of all superfluous bulk and in their lean, simple way, conveyed a message that was sincere, and which touched human and national chords of understanding.

Presently, on a platform in the open air, the President and the orator met. The crowd cheered, and the orator spoke. For one hour he held those people, and then for another hour he spoke of national sins, unforgettable wrongs, things done that could never be forgiven, and, confident of the impression he was making, conscious of his personal brilliance, he brought his polished discourse

to a close, and the crowd applauded and roared and cheered for several minutes.

Then the President rose, and, putting on his spectacles, read from his notes a few sentences, which took three minutes to deliver. He said :

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

"Now we are engaged in a great Civil War, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

"But in a larger sense we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honoured dead we take increased devotion to the cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion ; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain ; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom ; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

The year 1864 had ended with Sherman's march. From Savannah that march was continued, through the Carolinas. In March 1865, the final campaign of the war

began. Lee's army of northern Virginia was defeated by Grant, and on April 9th it surrendered at Appomattox Court House. On the 26th, General Johnson surrendered to Sherman at Durham Station. The war was over; the Confederacy was at an end.

Now came the formidable task of reconstruction which would bring back into the Union the States that had seceded, and restore the spirit of goodwill to the whole country. The South was defeated. It was ruined, and southerners were apprehensive of the effects of abolition.

The one man who could have carried through reconstruction with conciliation and who would, by word and act, have helped to heal the wounded pride and repair the shattered economic fabric of the defeated rebel states, was Abraham Lincoln. He was re-elected in the Presidential campaign of 1864. A little more than a month before Lee's surrender at Appomattox, in his Second Inaugural Address, the President had shown his intentions towards the rebels, when he said :

~~With~~ "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

On the evening of April 14th, 1865, in Ford's Theatre, Washington, Abraham Lincoln was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth, an actor and a fanatical supporter of the South. By murdering the President he removed the man who could have shielded the South from those who clamoured for revenge.

Chapter Fifteen

RECOVERY AND PROSPERITY

WHILE the United States was preoccupied with the Civil War, Great Britain, France and Spain entered into a Convention for regulating the affairs of Mexico. This Convention was signed in London on October 31st, 1861. On December 14th Spanish troops occupied Vera Cruz, a French fleet with troops followed, and British ships and marines were also sent. Britain ultimately dissociated herself from this affair. It became obvious that the French Emperor, Napoleon III, was using the occasion to fulfil an assortment of extravagant ambitions.

Britain had taken action in order to secure recognition for the rights of British subjects in Mexico, and to compel the settlement of certain Mexican financial obligations ; but Napoleon III wanted to control the country. He was instrumental in foisting on to the Mexican people a puppet ruler, Maximilian, whose authority he supported with French troops. This deliberate and provocative flouting of the Monroe Doctrine was perforce ignored by the United States Government until the Civil War was over ; but in the autumn of 1865 Seward told the French Government that the presence of a foreign army in Mexico could not be tolerated by the United States. Napoleon, aware of the fact that an efficient American army was mobilized

on the Rio Grande, promised to withdraw French troops if America would recognize the puppet emperor, Maximilian. This suggestion was curtly refused, and by May 1867, all the French troops were withdrawn. The Mexican empire then dissolved, and Maximilian was captured and executed.

This example of aggression was a warning to the United States that European ambitions in the New World could easily be revived. Although such an exhibition of naked militarism by France angered America, far more resentment was felt towards Great Britain. The attitude of the British Government, throughout the Civil War had been unsympathetic to the Union, and Earl Russell, in 1865, did nothing to improve the relations of the two countries by refusing to consider the possibility of arbitrating on the *Alabama* claims, for the United States held Britain responsible for the depredations of that raider. Lord Russell's obstinacy in this matter had the worst possible effect in America. Disraeli, speaking of this statesman in the days when he was Lord John Russell, before he had been elevated to the House of Lords as the first Earl Russell, had said :

"If a traveller were informed that such a man was leader of the House of Commons he may begin to comprehend how the Egyptians worshipped an Insect."

His small-minded refusal to admit that America was a great nation, was infinitely mischievous ; but, fortunately for Anglo-American relations, his successor, Lord Stanley, expressed complete willingness to discuss the *Alabama* claims. Negotiations between the two countries began, and although tempers were occasionally lost, all outstanding difficulties were eventually settled.

Britain had her grievances too, and the Fenian invasion of Canada which took place in 1865, from American soil, at the instigation of Irish-American citizens, had cost both lives and money. The disputed fishing rights in the North

Atlantic were also a constant irritant. In spite of inflammatory speeches, particularly a demand made in the Senate, that Britain should apologize to the United States, reasonable men in both countries were able to have their way, and a treaty was signed in Washington in May 1871, which ended most of the difficulties. Negotiations over fishing rights in the North Atlantic still continued, nor were they finally settled until 1910.

The death of Lincoln left to his successor, Andrew Johnson, the complex task of reconstructing the Union. Many of Johnson's utterances in the past had suggested that he would treat the ex-Confederates with severity; but he appeared to have imbibed some of Lincoln's principles. Like Lincoln, he was self-educated, a man of the people, and deeply in sympathy with the poorer classes of the community. He suffered, as any man would suffer, by comparison with his great predecessor. Nobody could quite live up to Lincoln's high-minded standards; but Johnson did his best, and was soon condemned by what might be described as the "revenge party," for his refusal to harden his reconstruction policy with punitive measures. During the summer of 1865, he arranged for provisional civil governments in all the seceded states except Texas; and in a short time those states were reorganized, and were making application for readmission to the Union.

On January 31st, 1865, the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution had been adopted by Congress, which abolished slavery throughout the Union. On May 29th President Johnson issued a Proclamation of Amnesty. Those who accepted its provisions had to take an oath to support the Constitution of the Union, and all laws and proclamations concerning the emancipation of slaves.

The South began to show signs of recovery, and the North was alarmed because the reorganized southern states had not granted political rights to Negroes. The newly-

elected southern legislatures had passed certain "black codes" which were based on the belief that former slaves should be treated as a separate class. The provisions of these codes varied in different states, but they did impose certain disabilities on Negroes. For example, they were not allowed to carry weapons, nor could they be accepted as witnesses in legal actions. In Mississippi, Negroes were not allowed to own land; in South Carolina, they were only allowed to work as farm-hands or as domestic servants, except under special licence.

Early in 1866, the President and Congress were at logger-heads over the whole question of reconstruction. A Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was proposed, which gave constitutional guarantees of citizenship and equal civil rights to freedmen. An organization known as the Freedmen's Bureau had been created by Congress, on March 3rd, 1865, which had the power to assign to the use of freedmen abandoned lands in the states that had taken part in the rebellion. The local agents of the Bureau were men from the North, and many of them did irreparable damage by suggesting to the Negro population that the estates of their former masters would be split up for their benefit. The Freedmen's Bureau complicated the whole issue of reconstruction. A Bill was passed by Congress to prolong its activities indefinitely, but this was vetoed by the President on February 19th, 1866. On April 9th, Congress passed the Civil Rights Bill over Johnson's veto. This Bill established freedmen as citizens of the United States with the same civil rights as white citizens. It made discrimination against Negroes a punishable offence in any state.

In June 1866 the Joint Reconstruction Committee presented its report to Congress. The report declared that the seceding states were disorganized communities *outside* the Union, and that as such they should be denied representation "until sufficient guarantees were provided which

would tend to secure the civil rights of all citizens, temporary restoration of suffrage to those not guilty of participating in the rebellion, and the disqualification from office of at least a portion of those whose crimes had proved them to be enemies of the Union and unworthy of public confidence." The guarantees proposed by the Committee were substantially the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment.

The Great Reconstruction Act, 1867, on the recommendation of the Reconstruction Committee, abolished the existing governments in the seceding states and established military governments in their place. The process by which these states could be readmitted to the Union was laid down by the terms of the Act :

1. The Ten Southern States were to be grouped into five military districts which were to be put under the command of generals of the Federal Army :

Virginia	Major-General Schofield
North and South Carolina	Major-General Sickler
Georgia, Florida and Alabama	Major-General Pope
Mississippi and Arkansas	Major-General Ord
Louisiana and Texas	Major-General Sheridan

2. These military commanders were to register in each state all the adult male citizens, black as well as white—excluding only such persons as might be disfranchised by the Fourteenth Amendment—and were to hold an election for delegates to a state convention.

3. These conventions were to frame constitutions, an indispensable condition of the constitution being that the franchise be extended to the blacks as well as to the whites.

4. The constitutions thus framed were to be submitted to the voters, black as well as white, for adoption or rejection.

5. If adopted by the respective states the constitutions were to be sent to Congress for its approval.

6. If the constitutions should be approved each state would be represented again in Congress as soon as its legislature ratified the Fourteenth Amendment.

7. Until these conditions had all been complied with, the states should be governed by military governors, and should in all things be subject to the paramount authority of the United States.

In the winter of 1867 elections were held in all the military districts, and by February 1868 constitutional conventions had been established in the ten states affected by the Act.

Tennessee had been readmitted to the Union on July 24th, 1866. Andrew Johnson had himself been the military governor, until his inauguration as vice-president on March 4th, 1865.

The work of framing and ratifying the constitutions proceeded all over the South, and by the end of June 1868, Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama and Louisiana had fulfilled the conditions of the Act, and had been readmitted to the Union. As Virginia, Mississippi and Texas failed to secure the proper ratification of their respective constitutions, they were obliged to remain under the rule of their military governors, and were not readmitted to the Union until 1870.

The Fourteenth Amendment included the provisions of the Civil Rights Bill, which was intended to give white men and Negroes equality in the enjoyment of civil rights. It had three main divisions :

1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States were declared citizens of the United States or of their states, and the states were forbidden to abridge the "privileges or immunities" of such citizens.
2. The representation of the states in Congress was to be reduced in proportion to the number of persons excluded from the franchise.
3. The war debts of the Confederacy and the seceding states were declared void for ever, and the war debt of the United States was guaranteed.

Congress was given power to enforce these provisions, and the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted in 1868.

Under the military reorganization of the South, the Negro was protected and was allowed to vote. The manipulation of the Negro vote, and the possibility of controlling administration and local interests through its influence, was quickly perceived by political adventurers. Hundreds of

unscrupulous and undesirable people went South, to see what they could make out of the new conditions. These political adventurers were called "carpet-baggers," and they were not popular with the white citizens of the South, who gradually saw all political power getting into the hands of corrupt and ruthless crooks. The local whites who approved of and shared in this transfer of power to the Negroes were given the name of "scalawags." In many of the seceding states the most distressing conditions resulted from the powerlessness of honest men to influence state administration.

The Negroes were uneducated, without political understanding, and, if they had been a race capable of sustained malice, bloodshed would have been inevitable; but the Negro race has a childlike and generous capacity for good humour and kindness, and perhaps the greatest tribute to their racial character was their inability to remain in a revengeful mood. As slaves, they had been economically secure, an argument that was frequently used to condone the system of slavery. But as slaves, they had not been credited with human virtues and emotions. Mark Twain has, in two sentences, illustrated the common attitude of quite kindly people towards Negroes. Huckleberry Finn, when the runaway nigger, Jim, was feeling particularly miserable, reflected as follows :

"He was thinking about his wife and his children, away up yonder, and he was low and homesick; because he hadn't ever been away from home before in his life; and I do believe he cared just as much for his people as white folks does for ther'n. It don't seem natural, but I reckon it's so."

As freedmen, the Negroes had no economic security. They had to live, and the example and the teaching of the "carpet-baggers" suggested that an easy way was to live on loot. Soon the South became a land where black ruled

white, and as the history of Hayti has shown, the Negro is not an efficient ruler. The white leaders in the South were desperate, and as they lost hope of controlling the situation openly, they formed secret societies.

During 1865, at Pulaski, in Tennessee, a social club had been formed for the entertainment of a few young men, with the fanciful name of Ku Klux Klan. This was an onomatopœic word, derived from the sounds made in the cocking of a rifle. From an innocent beginning, it grew into the most terrible secret society in modern history. It was organized by ex-Confederate soldiers and run on a military basis. It established branches everywhere, and it began to curb the depredations of the carpet-baggers, and to terrorize the Negroes. At first, the new rulers of the South laughed at it; dismissed it lightly as "Ku Klux trash," but it soon became such a power that it disturbed the Federal Government, and it was declared illegal in 1871. Meanwhile, the Ku Klux Klan had cleaned up many abuses, and had at least restored a feeling of security to the whites. In time, it got out of hand, and became in itself a menace; but as conditions in the South improved, and normal administration was gradually restored, it disappeared, although it was revived again in 1916.

If the President had been allowed to have his way, such a society could never have achieved power, but the quarrel between Johnson and Congress was carried to such lengths that he was powerless. The House of Representatives actually brought articles of impeachment against the President, but he was acquitted by the Senate. In 1868 he was succeeded by General Ulysses Grant.

Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederate States, had been taken prisoner on May 10th, 1865. He was indicted for treason, and attempts were made to connect him with the assassination of Lincoln. For two years he was denied trial and he was not allowed bail. It was not

until 1867 that some of his former political opponents, including Horace Greeley, became his sureties. Under the General Amnesty of December 25th, 1868, Davis was released and retired into private life, to write a long, explanatory and acrimonious book entitled *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*.

General Robert E. Lee, after his surrender, lived on his estate for a few months, and then accepted the Presidency of Washington College, Lexington. He occupied that responsible position until his death in 1870, and the college was later renamed Washington and Lee University.

General Grant served two terms as President. When he was succeeded in 1877 by Rutherford Richard Hayes, the country was again united. The Civil War was neither forgotten nor forgiven in the South; but administrative abuses and corruption had been checked, and normal conditions were restored.

The development of the country was proceeding rapidly. The oil industry had come into being and was growing to vast dimensions. In 1869, the Union Pacific Railroad building West from Omaha, met the Central Pacific building East from San Francisco. Trains could now travel from coast to coast. Everywhere in the West, men were creating wealth. It is true that the Indians occasionally caused some trouble, particularly the Sioux, who were never effectually subdued. In 1875-76, their Chief, Sitting Bull, successfully resisted all the Federal troops sent against him, and retired at last across the boundary line into Canada without ever submitting to the forces of law and order. But the Indians were gradually becoming a memory of the past. They were swept aside and forgotten in the nationwide process of developing the country, seeking wealth, founding new industries, and maintaining traffic.

Chapter Sixteen

THE SPANISH WAR AND IMPERIALISM

UNTIL 1885, the Republican party remained in power. Hayes had succeeded General Grant, and James Abraham Garfield, the twentieth President, was inaugurated in March 1881. In nominating the candidate for the Presidency, the Republican party bosses took the unusual course of supporting General Grant for a third term. The election was an unedifying exhibition of the worst side of American politics. Garfield, another of the Republican candidates, was subjected to the most virulent personal abuse, and the fact that he had been born in a log cabin and was the son of a farmer in Ohio, could not be offset successfully against the stories that were circulated regarding his share in certain financial scandals. Charges of corruption which were brought against him had never been proved, but he was distrusted even in his own party. The Republican party was torn with dissensions, and Garfield was incapable of smoothing them out. But on July 2nd he was assassinated at Washington, by a man named Charles Guiteau.

Garfield was succeeded by the Vice-President, Chester Allen Arthur. He was a lawyer, and during the Civil War he had attained the rank of General. At the end of his term of office, the Republicans lost the election, and the democratic candidate, Grover Cleveland, went to the

White House in 1885. Cleveland served two terms as President, from 1885 to 1889, and from 1893 to 1897. From 1889 to 1893 the Republicans were in power, with Benjamin Harrison as President. After Cleveland's second term, in 1897, the Republicans again came into power and William McKinley became President.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed increasing expansion in industry. The population continued to increase. The immigration figures from Europe rose steadily until 1890. They had then reached a figure of 4,721,602, between 1881 and 1890. During that decade 1,452,970 Germans emigrated to America, and from Russia and Russian Poland came 265,088 immigrants; from Italy 307,309, from Scandinavia 568,362, from Austria-Hungary 353,719, and from the United Kingdom 1,462,839.

The huge influx of population provided abundant labour for all the industrial enterprises that were growing up in different parts of the country. There were labour troubles, prolonged industrial disputes which were often accompanied by bloodshed, for strike-breaking was carried out savagely. But in spite of financial setbacks, labour disputes, agricultural discontent, railway wars, abuses, corruption, and all the incidental disadvantages of the private exploitation of a country's resources, high standards of living were established and maintained in the United States, and the people enjoyed equality of opportunity. In 1860, railway mileage was 30,283; in 1870 it had increased to 53,878; by 1880 it was 94,671, rising by 1890 to 163,597; and in 1900 it stood at 193,346.

American engineers were not only building railroads and bridges and industrial plant; they were developing new inventions, and spreading a new network of communications over the country and throughout every city in the Union. The telephone was quickly put into operation, and it was recognized immediately as a business aid of the first

importance. Most American cities were essentially business communities, and the invention of the typewriter brought women into commercial life upon a scale that made Europeans gasp. Rudyard Kipling registered his astonishment at the phenomenon of the independent business girl. In the letters he wrote from America, during 1887-89, for the *Civil & Military Gazette* and the *Pioneer* in India, he refers to the "typewriter maiden," who earned her living because she preferred not to be dependent on her parents. This was obviously a shock for young Kipling, the observant journalist, for he records that the typist he met "quotes Théophile Gautier, and moves through the world manfully, much respected, for all her twenty inexperienced summers." (*From Sea to Sea*, Vol. II, Letter XXV.)

United States interests began to spread beyond their own territory. In 1867, Alaska was purchased from Russia. The growth of the Navy, and its needs, influenced American policy in the Pacific. In 1889, a treaty between the United States, Britain and Germany, placed the Samoan Islands under the joint control of those countries. Ten years later, the islands were divided among the three powers. The Hawaiian Islands came under American influence, first through missionaries, and finally through commercial interests. In July 1898 they were annexed by the United States.

The project of a Panama Canal had been raised, and in May 1879 an International Congress met in Paris to consider the best site for it. The Congress which was organized by Ferdinand de Lesseps, who had made the Suez Canal, resulted in the formation of the Panama Canal Company. This was a failure, and work on the canal was discontinued after millions of money had been spent upon preparations. A second French company was formed, but it suffered from severe limitations. For example, it was laid down that all the machinery and tools used in the work had to be

of French manufacture, and all the raw materials employed of French origin. Although work was continued, the company got into difficulties, and the United States ultimately assumed the responsibility for making the Canal, as neither Colombia nor Nicaragua, who were the owners of the two most promising routes, could attempt such a stupendous undertaking.

America's need of a canal through the Isthmus was emphasized in 1898 by the Spanish-American War. Perhaps the United States Government had become unduly sensitive to European influence since Napoleon III's adventure in Mexico. They certainly enforced the Monroe Doctrine rigorously, and resented the slightest suggestion of its infringement. In 1895, Grover Cleveland had commented sharply on the dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. The boundary line which separated British Guiana from Venezuela had long been in dispute, and although the United States had suggested arbitration, Britain had refused. President Cleveland thereupon suggested an independent examination by the United States of the merits of the case, and expressed perfect willingness to give support to Venezuela, if necessary. He informed Congress that it would be the duty of the United States "to resist by every means in its power, as a wilful aggression upon its rights and interests, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory which after investigation we have determined of right belongs to Venezuela." Great Britain then accepted arbitration, and an acceptable award was made.

Between 1868 and 1878, the Spanish island of Cuba had been at war with the mother country, and American intervention had been considered. The United States had many interests in Cuba. The strategic position of the island in the Caribbean, was such that the American Government could not permit it to be controlled by any

combination of European nations or any one strong European power. Spain had promised the Cubans that various reforms would be made in the administration of the island, but these promises were not fulfilled, and in 1895 another revolt began. Spain attempted to crush this rebellion, and although the rebels were not formally recognized by the United States, President McKinley indicated that intervention was a possibility.

Spain objected to this suggestion, and the situation deteriorated to such an extent that it only needed a provocative incident to start a war between the two countries. On February 15th, 1898, such an incident occurred, when the United States battleship, *Maine*, was destroyed by an explosion in Havana Harbour. She had been sent to Havana on January 25th, to protect American interests. Subsequent examination of the wreck of the *Maine* failed to establish responsibility for the explosion. The disaster made war inevitable. "Remember the *Maine*" was the slogan that was taken up by the American press, and a popular clamour for war was raised.

The Spanish-American War was short, and ended in the complete humiliation of Spain. Spanish fleets at Manila and Santiago were destroyed by the American Navy, and Santiago capitulated. On July 22nd, 1898, Spain made overtures for peace. Under the treaty which followed, Cuba was liberated, and the Philippine Islands and Porto Rico were ceded to the United States.

The war did not involve America in European complications: it suggested most forcibly to Europe that America was able to uphold the Monroe Doctrine, and to fight if ever it should be threatened, directly or indirectly. The nature of the war also demonstrated to the world that the United States was now a naval power, second only to Britain.

Chapter Seventeen

MONEY POWER AND DEVELOPMENT

IMPERIAL America sounded well as a phrase, but its implications outraged those who believed that democracy was a system of government which gave Americans freedom without giving them the right to interfere in the affairs of other countries. In the Spanish War, the United States had helped Cuba to rid itself of the oppressive and archaic rule of Spain, and it was at least logical and reasonable for Cuba to become an American protectorate, until the islanders could be entrusted with the conduct of their own affairs ; but the annexation of the Philippines was difficult to explain. What had the United States to do with far-flung possessions and the native Oriental population that went with them ? Enough hard things had been said about British imperialism in the past by Americans, and now the Republic was emulating the British Empire, taking the first ambitious steps towards the subjugation of a conquered race. Illusions about the British Empire have a way of persisting in America, and for many years India has been represented as a land groaning under the most abominable oppression, while the benefits conferred by British administration, the canals, the roads, the railways, the medical and health services, are ignored. President McKinley, who advocated the annexation, had to decide whether the growing opposition would become more

powerful than the popular desire for these overseas possessions. An Anti-Imperialist League was formed, and although it attracted a big membership, and its influence was considerable, it could only obstruct the process of annexation. The Anti-Imperialists certainly checked a lot of irresponsible enthusiasm for exploiting the easy victory which had been won, but they could not arrest the growth of imperialism. In the presidential election of 1900, William Jennings Bryan was nominated by the Democratic party, and he declared that the paramount issue was imperialism. The Democrats were also against the trusts, and wanted to curb the growth of centralized financial control in industry ; but beside imperialism, these became secondary issues. William McKinley was re-elected, and the Republicans regarded this as a vindication of their imperialist policy.

On September 6th, 1901, President McKinley was shot by an anarchist of Polish origin, named Leon Czolgosz. On the 14th he died, and the Vice-President, Theodore Roosevelt, took the oath of office.

The new President was popular, and in nominating him for the vice-presidency, the Republican party chiefs had regarded him as an election asset, without bothering much about his convictions. The Vice-President is never chosen on the assumption that the President will die before he completes his term of office ; but the case of General Harrison and John Tyler in 1841 had shown how an unexpected and difficult situation could arise if the Vice-President was called to the White House, and he happened to be a man with independent views. But this occurred so seldom that political party bosses continued to regard the office of vice-president as unimportant though not entirely ornamental. When McKinley was assassinated the Republican party discovered that the man who replaced him was a born leader—an outspoken man of action.

Theodore Roosevelt belonged to a family that could trace its origin to the days when New York was New Amsterdam. He was born in 1858 in New York City. He had an energetic political and administrative career, and in 1895 he became President of the Board of Police Commissioners for New York City. Two years later, he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy by President McKinley. His energy and efficiency in that office were recognized, and when the Spanish War broke out, the speed with which the American Navy conducted its operations was attributable in part to his work of preparation. When the war began, he raised a volunteer regiment of cavalry, known as the Rough Riders, because it included a good many Western cowboys and ranchmen. Roosevelt was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel to this regiment, and took an active part in the land operations against the Spaniards.

This romantic figure, with his love of open-air life, his soldiering in the Spanish War, his big-game hunting, and his adulation of strong, manly ways of living, was in every way fitted for Imperial leadership. In that direction he never disappointed his party. He grew vastly popular. In a surprisingly short time "Teddy" Roosevelt became a world character, and the diminutive of his Christian name went into thousands of homes among the English-speaking peoples, because his passion for bear-hunting was recorded by woolly miniatures of his favourite quarry. The "Teddy-bear" gained an immediate popularity, which it has retained ever since.

The Roosevelt administration was responsible for settling the problem of the Panama Canal, and expressing the great idea in action. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty with Britain had to be ended, if the United States was to take control of the canal, and a new treaty was negotiated. The diplomatic discussions were conducted in an atmosphere

of goodwill. Two great naval powers were talking the same language about seaways and communications, and in 1901 the Hay-Pauncefote treaty was concluded, which gave the United States the right to build and police the inter-oceanic canal. It was to be open to the merchant vessels and warships of all nations, in peace or war, and there was to be no inequality or discrimination in the matter of tolls. This last provision caused trouble in Congress later on, for it was felt that American vessels engaged on a coast-to-coast voyage should have preferential treatment. In 1912 Congress actually passed a bill exempting American coastwise ships from the tolls imposed on foreign vessels, but the strenuous objections of Britain to this contravention of the treaty provisions secured the repeal of the tolls bill in 1914.

The French company's interests were acquired, and a treaty, known as the Hay-Herran convention, was drawn up between Colombia and the United States (1903). This was approved by the United States Senate, but the treaty was not ratified by Colombia. A revolution in Colombia enabled America to protect the area, which was to be known as the Canal Zone. Some modern American historians suggest that this revolution was fomented by the United States; and Professor Faulkner even throws doubt on the truth of President Roosevelt's statement, made on January 4th, 1904, in which he said that "no one connected with this Government had any part in preparing, inciting, or encouraging the late revolution on the Isthmus of Panama. . . ." The President also said that except for the reports of military and naval officers, no member of the Government "had any previous knowledge of the revolution except such as was accessible to any person of ordinary intelligence who read the newspapers and kept up a current acquaintance with public affairs." Professor Faulkner comments that "This statement, while characteristically

Rooseveltian, is hardly convincing." (*A Short History of the American People*, Chapter XXXII.)

The construction of the canal took nearly ten years. It was opened to traffic in 1915.

Roosevelt's administration had some notable diplomatic achievements to its credit. American influence was able to limit the zone of hostilities in the Russo-Japanese war, and to bring about a peace conference between the two powers in 1905. The boundary dispute between Canada and Alaska was settled. The insurrection in the Philippines which began in 1899, was finally crushed in 1902 and full responsibility was taken for the administration of the islands.

When Venezuela and San Domingo incurred debts to European powers, and those powers desired to collect them, the United States intervened, and refused to allow any European country to use force. The American Government made arrangements for the claims to be paid by the debtor countries. The President hinted that in the Western Hemisphere the United States might be compelled to act as an international police power.

Roosevelt's spirited foreign policy was not always appreciated at home. Imperialism was distrusted; it was contrary to the spirit of America, and if the President's popularity had depended solely upon his conduct of foreign affairs, he would never have been returned to office in 1905. There were plenty of problems at home to occupy the President and his government.

The concentration of financial interests, the creation of huge monopolies following the elimination of competition in certain industries, and the growing power of those industries, were viewed with alarm in the late nineteenth century. In 1890 the Sherman Anti-Trust Act had been passed by Congress, and the trusts, those threatening symbols of monopoly, were regarded as the greatest evil

in the country. They disappeared from sight, but the public suspected that masked trusts were operating, and manipulating the country's industries.

Labour became almost as highly organized as capital. Labour Unions were out to protect their interests, and to arrest any attempt to lower the high standard of living which was established, and which was always such a surprise to Europeans who visited America. In 1905 that particularly restless and lucid writer, H. G. Wells, went to the United States, and recorded his impressions and conclusions in a book called *The Future in America*. He was struck by the fact that everybody had more money to spend, and that the common people were far better clothed than in any European country, and that wages translated from dollars into pounds and shillings seemed enormous. Wages were on the whole tending to rise: there was employment for all without limit. But Wells also set down this observation: "The fact that a growing proportion of the wealth of the community is passing into the hands of a small minority of successful getters, is masked to superficial observation by the steady increase of the total wealth. The growth process overrides the economic process, and may continue to do so for years." He dismissed the idea that the American people was undergoing impoverishment for the benefit of a few money manipulators, and he described the people as "very busy, roughly prosperous, generally self-satisfied, but ever and again stirred to bouts of irascibility and suspicion, inundated by a constantly swelling flood of prosperity that pours through it and over it and passes by it, without changing or enriching it at all." (Chapter VI.)

But the powers of industry and the genius of salesmanship were already conspiring to give the people a bigger and better share of the good material things of life than any people had enjoyed in the history of the world. The

consumer was to be courted and cajoled and given everything he could buy, and industrialists were to discover that big wages increased general prosperity, and distributors were to discover that the customer is always right, and a business community was to march from one material achievement to another, with always something a bit bigger and better waiting round the next corner. The territory of the Union constituted the biggest free trading area in the world, with apparently inexhaustible natural resources, and inhabited by people with an unslakable thirst for something new. Before the first quarter of the twentieth century had passed the influence of the American people had gone round the world, on wheels, on celluloid, and in notes of music. Before 1910 this distribution of American influence was beginning.

An inventor with a flair for industrial administration and business organization was making a car that was to be a poor man's pleasure, not a rich man's toy. His name was Henry Ford. One day in 1909 he announced that in future he was only going to make one model, the famous "Model T," and that one chassis would be standardized.

A motion-picture industry was releasing slapstick and sentimental, melodramatic entertainment, which made England and Europe familiar with American policemen, cowboys, trains, and a good many other things, and brought to the astonished gaze of thousands of audiences in darkened halls an occasional glimpse of those challenging towers that made New York a wonder of the world. And in that city a young waiter with a head that was always full of alluring melodies had composed a tune called "Alexander's Rag-Time Band." He was Irving Berlin, the creator of rag-time, the progenitor of jazz.

In the early days of the century, finance seemed to be getting out of hand. It was with dismay that the chiefs of

the Republican party discovered that Roosevelt was at heart a trust-buster. They could do nothing about it. The President was a man of strong, aggressive convictions; and he fought against money-power, chiefly with words, for he had no desire to emulate the performances of Andrew Jackson. His public utterances on the subject of trusts and financial control increased his popularity, and his policy of protecting the liberties of the people against the hidden power of the money interests made it impossible for any Republican politician to incur the odium of opposing his views. At the close of his second term he was able to nominate his successor, William Taft.

Roosevelt thought that Taft was the right man to continue his policy; but he was soon disappointed. Taft was conciliatory towards financial interests; and during his term of office he displayed considerable diplomatic ability in dealing with the recurrent problem of controlling trusts. Roosevelt after his second term was over visited Central Africa, and then went to Europe, where he was received as royalty is received. Perhaps his return to America was something of an anticlimax. He was certainly dissatisfied with the policy of Taft's administration, and he formed a new political party, the Progressive Party. At the election of 1912 both Taft and Roosevelt were running for the presidency. The appearance of the Progressives split the Republican vote, and the Democratic candidate, Woodrow Wilson, was elected.

Woodrow Wilson was born in 1856 at Staunton, Virginia. He was the son of a Presbyterian minister. He became a professor of history and political economy, and in 1890 he entered the Princeton Faculty as Professor of Jurisprudence and Political Economy. In 1902, he became President of Princeton. Eight years later, he abandoned his academic career for politics, and was offered the Democratic nomination for governor of New Jersey. In 1912, the Democratic

National Convention chose him as their Presidential candidate.

He was a new, liberal, vigorous mind in politics. He realized that the fine energies and progressive spirit of the American people were often exploited, and he was aware that financial interests were playing a predominant part in the direction of the country's affairs. But he was no revolutionary, although it became apparent to his supporters that he was an idealist with an honest mind of his own, incapable of adopting courses that would be merely opportunist and convenient. He was a man of high principles, great vision and, as events were to prove, constructive courage. It has been suggested that he suffered from physical limitations which caused him to live in almost constant pain, because of some malformation of his feet.

The Democratic President was a new experience for many Americans. Early in his term of office, Wilson had to face a crisis with Mexico, which was exploding in one of its periodic revolutions. A certain General Huerta was posing as the strong man who could put everything right, a pose which only lasted for a short time. Although Victoriano Huerta's government was recognized by many European powers and by Japan, the President refused American recognition. The career of the Mexican dictator was ended when, to protect American interests, United States marines were landed at Vera Cruz. A year later a Mexican government under Carranza was recognized by the United States.

Immigrants still came from Europe in increasing numbers. From 1901 to 1910 the total was 8,136,016. Of these, 2,045,877 were Italian; 1,597,306, Russian, and from Austria and Hungary came 2,145,266. Europe was still on the move westwards. The United States was beginning to have doubts about the quality of these additions to the population. Chinese immigration had been checked nearly

forty years earlier, and the fear of Japanese immigration was strong in California. There was nothing to prevent the Pacific slope being settled so densely by Orientals, that white men would be in a minority, and this possibility was regarded with alarm and distaste in the Pacific coast states. From 1901 to 1910 Chinese immigrants numbered only 20,605; but there were 129,797 from Japan. A Gentlemen's Agreement was arranged between Japan and America, and it was negotiated with skill and patience by President Roosevelt in 1907. Japan agreed to restrict the emigration of labourers to America, and the United States undertook to make no discrimination against Japanese people. Californian state legislation upset this arrangement a few years later, nor could President Wilson persuade the leaders of the exclusion movement to rescind their decisions. The Gentlemen's Agreement was broken, not through the action of the Federal Government, but by an inopportune assertion of states' rights.

When Woodrow Wilson was inaugurated in 1913, America was amazingly prosperous, still the land of promise, equality of opportunity and abundant freedom. The Republic was detached from the affairs of other and less happier lands. Washington's words had been remembered: "Europe has a set of primary interests which to us have none or a very remote relation. . . . Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. . . ."

Since the presidency of James Monroe, detachment from the affairs of Europe had been a cardinal principle of foreign policy. Only when European affairs threatened to impinge upon the Americas did the Republic take action.

The responsibility for deciding that America should intervene in Europe was taken by a man with an academic training and a lucid, creative mind, who was utterly different in character and background from any other

American President. Yet Woodrow Wilson was as characteristically American as Abraham Lincoln or Andrew Jackson. Lincoln and Jackson wanted the Union made safe for democracy: it was Wilson who said: "The World must be made safe for Democracy."

Chapter Eighteen

THE GREAT WAR AND THE 14 POINTS

ON August 1st, 1914, Germany declared war on Russia; two days later she declared war on France, and when she invaded Belgium, Great Britain came into the war against her. On August 4th, President Wilson issued a proclamation of neutrality, for in accordance with the principles of the Monroe Doctrine which still governed American diplomacy, the United States could not interfere in the affairs of European powers. As a neutral, the United States upheld the principles of "the freedom of the seas," so American commerce could be carried on with all countries, whether they were belligerent or neutral. But Great Britain had imposed a blockade on Germany, and an ancient grievance arose, not in its old, aggravating form, but still powerful as an irritant: it was the right of search exercised by warships of the British Navy. Britain would not impress seamen from American vessels; but the Navy would and did search all neutral ships for contraband, and Americans had not been subjected to that sort of interference for a century.

Europe was a long way from the United States in 1914. The war seemed just as remote and unimportant as a squabble in the Balkan states would have seemed to

Britain. It was perhaps more interesting than most wars, because Britain was involved, and the scale was bigger; but that it had any significance for the American nation was unthinkable. Free from European entanglements, the American people regarded themselves as spectators—at first.

Sympathies were divided. The British blockade of Germany made commercial intercourse with that country almost impossible; and although trade was enormously expanded with Britain and France, the mounting prosperity that resulted from this did not afford universal satisfaction. Although America was indisputably a nation, and although there had been much talk of the "melting pot," wherein all former national characteristics were transmuted into the fine gold of free American citizenship, old pre-American antipathies and tastes survived. Between 1820 and 1900 millions of immigrants had helped to enlarge the population of the United States. During those eighty years, over five million immigrants were German, and nearly four million were Irish. Immigration had continued, and between 1900 and 1910, the German immigrants numbered 341,498; the Irish, 339,065. The Irish were specialists in hate, and although the wisdom of statesmen in the early twentieth century had done much to alleviate the blundering and the unimaginative folly that had disfigured Britain's relations with Ireland in the past, the Irish had cultivated to a remarkable degree a racial memory. It was nourished on hatred; and the American-Irish had a tenderness for the land of their origin, which often found exuberant expression in violent attacks on Britain. This was at least understandable, for the Irish immigrants of the thirties and forties and fifties of the nineteenth century, were leaving a land that was so poor, so oppressed, that the contrast between the new land of the West and what they knew of the Old World was so extreme that their hatred for the

rulers of Ireland was intensified ; and they transmitted this heritage of hate to their children. The Irish in America would have shed no tears over a German victory. The German elements, naturally, had a tenderness for their fatherland.

Many Germans in America were liable for military service in Germany. This liability for military service affected Frenchmen, and, later on, Italians. Because of the British blockade, the Germans were unable to return to their country, and perforce they remained in America—active centres of pro-German sympathy.

The American public woke up to the fact that a big proportion of the population still had non-American loyalties, and that Europe was not as far away as they thought. The war, and all discussion of it, became unpopular. A notice began to appear in saloons and stores and all the places where men met to discuss their affairs. It was a simple, direct and suggestive negative : “ Nix on the War gag.” It was a contemporary paraphrase of “ No European Entanglements.”

Although the German invasion of Belgium had aroused moral indignation in America, that was not in itself powerful enough to involve the United States in the war. The sufferings of Belgium were deplorable ; but to attempt to interfere would be to flout the words of Washington :

“ The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible.”

It was well for American citizens to remember that.

Meanwhile, in the course of the blockade, Britain seized American ships and cargoes and extended the list of contraband. All neutrals suffered, but America was the greatest neutral, and British sea power seemed both provocative and obnoxious when it was applied to vessels flying the Stars and Stripes. A formal protest was lodged by the

United States against the extension of contraband late in 1914. But the inconvenience caused by the British Navy was forgotten when Germany began to use submarines as commerce destroyers.

President Wilson at once protested ; but his protest did not deter Germany, and submarine attacks on merchant shipping continued. On May 1st, 1915, an advertisement issued by the German Embassy at Washington had appeared in American newspapers, warning citizens of the danger of sailing in British ships. On May 7th the Cunard liner, *Lusitania*, on her way from New York to England, was torpedoed without warning off the west coast of Ireland. One hundred and thirteen American passengers lost their lives.

President Wilson demanded that the German Government should make reparation and guarantee that no repetition of such an act would take place. Germany argued the case, and suggested her willingness to suspend submarine attacks if the British would also suspend their practice of search and seizure in respect of American ships. The argument continued until September 1st, 1915, when Germany undertook not to sink liners without warning or without securing the safety of non-combatants.

The Presidential election of 1916 returned Wilson to the White House. The electoral vote was close, and of the popular vote, Wilson secured about 9,000,000 ; his opponent, Hughes, receiving 8,500,000. The feelings of the country about the European conflict was demonstrated by the popularity of the slogan that was used in Wilson's campaign : "He kept us out of war." Wilson's skill in preserving the neutrality of the United States was defeated by Germany. The President had made an attempt to bring about peace early in 1916, but his suggestion for negotiations had not been encouraged by the Allies. In December of that year he sent an appeal to the belligerents,

urging them to state their demands, so that their war aims could at least be subjected to scrutiny. In January 1917 he addressed another appeal, in which he suggested a "peace without victory," which would give to the different nations concerned in the war the right of self-determination. The Allies were responsive, but Germany replied with a blunt announcement that she was proposing to resume submarine warfare, and this time it would be unrestricted.

During February and March some American vessels were torpedoed, and it was obvious that Germany was determined to continue the submarine campaign. President Wilson considered the possibility of arming American merchant vessels, but this plan was opposed by Congress. Ignoring Congress, the Administration proceeded to arm merchant ships.

Germany was conducting a campaign from a secret service base in New York, and Captain Von Rintelen, an able and resourceful officer of the German Naval Intelligence, was in charge of these operations. They were directed against ships leaving New York for allied ports, and against munition works supplying the Allies. (The details of this campaign are set forth in Captain Von Rintelen's book, *The Dark Invader*.) Germany was also trying to stir up trouble in Mexico, and some of her proposals to that country were intercepted. If Mexico would declare war on the United States, and induce Japan to desert the Allies, Germany would guarantee the restoration of the old Mexican provinces—presumably New Mexico, Arizona and Texas. When this information came into American possession, war was inevitable.

On April 6th, 1917, a formal declaration was signed by the President, stating that Germany had already begun the war. Diplomatic relations were then broken off with Austria and Turkey.

The United States Navy was mobilized, and General

John J. Pershing was appointed commander of an expeditionary force to fight in France. On June 8th, General Pershing arrived in England, and on June 26th, the first detachment of American troops reached France. For a year troops crossed the Atlantic in gradually increasing numbers, until by August 1918 the American Expeditionary Force numbered over 1,500,000. Conscription had been introduced shortly after the declaration of war, and the man power and inexhaustible resources of America made the defeat of Germany certain. By November 11th, 1918, over 2,000,000 American officers and men were in France. Of these, 35,556 were killed in action; and the total casualties were 264,089.

American aid to the Allies was decisive.

President Wilson had refused to consider any suggestion of a negotiated peace until German power was broken. He described that power as "a thing without conscience or honour or capacity for covenanted peace." In an address to Congress on January 8th, 1918, the President laid down a number of demands. They made clear to the world that America knew not only in principle but in some detail what she was fighting for. The world, in the President's phrase, had to be "made safe for democracy." Under Fourteen Points he explained how that universal security might be established.

The Fourteen Points demanded :

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understanding of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, as far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the

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nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Governments whose title is determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and more than a welcome assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded to Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their goodwill, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which had unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognized limits of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored: Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

Woodrow Wilson's mind was as spacious and free as his country. When the German collapse was apparent in the Autumn of 1918, the President added to his Fourteen Points, Five Principles:

First, the impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wished to be just and those to whom we did not wish to be just.

Second, No special or separate interest of any single nation or any group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all.

Third, There can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations.

Fourth, And, more specifically, there can be no special selfish economic combinations within the League, and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion, except as the power of

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economic penalty, by exclusion from the markets of the world, may be vested in the League of Nations itself as a means of discipline and control.

Fifth, All international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world.

Wilson, clear-minded and logical, could see no entangling alliance in membership of "the general and common family of the League of Nations." Those five principles were a safeguard against the very thing most Americans dreaded: they established open responsibility for maintaining world order in partnership with other powers. The Fourteen Points and the Five Principles specifically abolished secret diplomacy, and dragged into the light all the private understandings, the little hidden deals and bribes that were the small change of the old diplomacy.

But Wilson's mind was larger than the patience of his countrymen.

Chapter Nineteen

SECOND DISENTANGLEMENT FROM EUROPE

IN January 1915 the idea of a "League to enforce Peace" was discussed in the Century Club in New York, but the term "League of Nations" was not used until later. H. G. Wells, in his *Experiment in Autobiography*, suggests that the term was of English origin, and was first employed by a small group of people, which included Lord Dickenson, G. Lowes Dickenson and Sir Raymond Unwin. The establishment of the League might have caught and fired the imagination of America, but after the Armistice was signed, and President Wilson announced his intention of attending the Peace Conference in person, the Republican opposition sounded a note of warning. If the President had been more of a politician and less of a constructive idealist, he might have carried his countrymen with him in supporting the League; a more astute politician might also have found some way of dealing with the massive obscurantism of Clemenceau, whose love for France was so blind that he was incapable of apprehending any idea that did not have an immediate and obvious bearing upon the prosperity and protection of his country.

In 1919 Clemenceau was seventy-eight; Wilson was sixty-three; Lloyd George was fifty-six. Those three statesmen dominated the Peace Conference; but it was

soon clear to Wilson that he would have to pay a price for French support, if the League of Nations was to get beyond the stage of a good intention. France insisted that she must have guarantees of protection before she would consider the idea of the League, so Wilson signed a treaty of alliance with France and Great Britain. This undertaking pledged the United States to give armed assistance to France, if that country should be invaded by Germany. To the American people this was the sort of entanglement with Europe they dreaded ; and it is astonishing that Wilson should have known so little of the temper of his countrymen and of its representatives in Congress, to imagine that such a pact would be tolerated. He was soon disillusioned. Opposition was not a matter of party politics ; the projected European alliance outraged every tradition of American foreign relations. It came so close to the approaching centenary of the Monroe Doctrine, that the mood which had followed the announcement of that doctrine was revived. America had turned away from Europe a hundred years ago ; she did so again, and this time with an uneasy and angry suspicion that she had been fooled into acting as fairy godmother to a bunch of European states that wanted to mix her into their troubles and quarrels for all time. That great Republican leader, Theodore Roosevelt, might have given a constructive tone to this growing opposition. He had supported the war, and had realized how German militarism threatened democratic institutions everywhere ; but Roosevelt died suddenly on January 6th, 1919.

In December 1918 President Wilson arrived in France. His reception was enthusiastic, and everywhere in Europe and Britain millions of men acclaimed him, for to the peoples who had been fighting in the long and devastating war, Woodrow Wilson seemed like a superman, someone who was lifted above the nationalism, the political and

economic selfishness, the confusion and war-weariness of the old world. He was the champion of a new idea of partnership between nations. Intelligent and hopeful people thought that Wilson, speaking for the greatest democratic republic in the world, might start a new political way of life for Europe, which would in time cause men to forget their national frontiers, and the old hates and fears that they preserved, and would cause nations to disarm, and live in concord and tranquillity. It was not understood that Wilson did not speak for the United States ; or that before the Peace Conference began, he had lost much of the sympathy and support that had united the nation behind him during the war.

War-time idealism evaporated. Wilson returned to America during the Peace Conference to explain the nature of the League to members of Congress. He could not ignore their critical attitude, and he went back to Paris pledged to incorporate certain modifications in the covenant of the League which would safeguard American interests, and would reaffirm the Monroe Doctrine. When he finally returned from the Conference, the President submitted the treaty to the Senate. So many amendments and reservations were suggested, that he resolved to let the American people decide the issue, and in the Presidential election in the autumn of 1920 he embarked on a nationwide campaign in favour of the treaty. On September 26th he had a paralytic stroke, and took no further part in the campaign. For some time the country was not aware of the seriousness of the President's illness. His retirement during the presidential campaign, and the lack of any man of comparable moral stature who believed in the treaty and the League and who could put the case for ratification to the country, not only lost the Democratic party the election, but confirmed the national resolve to leave Europe alone. The Republican candidate, Warren Gamaliel Harding, was to put

into smooth, comforting phrases, what most Americans were thinking in those days of post-war reaction. "America's present need is not heroics, but healing; not nostrums, but normalcy; not revolution, but restoration. . . ."

The public took that unlovely word "normalcy" to its heart, and political speakers used it ruthlessly; it was a talismanic word, soothing and seductive. America turned with tremendous energy to the congenial task of getting on with its own domestic business. That promising child, the League of Nations, which the United States had dumped on Europe's doorstep, was left to the conscientious and anxious guardianship of Great Britain. France was not enthusiastic about the League; nevertheless, it began its career with a considerable amount of support from the nations of the world, though the lack of American support crippled it from the outset.

Harding was inaugurated as twenty-ninth President in March 1921. Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts became vice-president. The United States withdrew from Europe, and the peace treaty was not ratified. The state of war with Germany was only terminated by a declaration of peace in 1921. A treaty was signed with the German Republic on August 25th of that year, and it included most of the clauses of the Versailles Treaty, but repudiated American adherence to the League of Nations. During July and August, President Harding issued invitations to Great Britain and the European and Asiatic powers to attend a conference at Washington to discuss the limitation of national armaments and the relationship of the powers in the Far East. Agreement was reached regarding the scrapping of capital ships, and the United States, Britain, Japan and France signed a four-power treaty agreeing to respect each others' rights in the Pacific, and to settle all disputes by diplomatic means. This treaty ended the old Anglo-Japanese alliance.

In 1922 Congress set up the World War Foreign Debt Commission, for the debtor nations of Europe were finding it difficult to repay the sums they had borrowed from America during the war. The United States was surrounded with a high tariff wall, and the debts could not be discharged in goods. Gold from France and Britain began to flow in an irregular but substantial stream to America ; but to maintain that flow was beyond the capacity of the debtors. Germany stopped the payment of reparations in 1922, and the difficulties of repayment to America increased. Various adjustments were made, and repayments continued for a few years, but early in the nineteen-thirties the debtor nations, with the exception of Finland, discontinued payments. No public statement which put Britain's case for stopping her repayments that could be understood by ordinary people, was made by any British statesman. Americans regarded the cessation of debt repayments with suspicion ; Britain, like the European debtors, had defaulted ; and British diplomacy was so debased that no attempt was made to explain the almost insurmountable difficulties of continuing to pay in gold, when America held most of the world's gold. There was no suggestion of an annual token payment ; there was no apology : the obligation was shelved, and with it a lot of American goodwill and friendship for Britain was shelved too.

Periodically American interest in European affairs was uneasily awakened. In 1927 the Briand-Kellogg pact was suggested. It was concluded in the following year, and Secretary of State Kellogg, visited France to discuss its provisions with Aristide Briand. Under this pact the United States and France agreed to outlaw war in any disputes which might arise between any two nations in the future. Fourteen other nations signed the pact. It was a constructive attempt by America to secure world peace.

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It was not so easy to keep American policy aloof from the affairs of Europe. The Atlantic was narrowing. On June 14th-15th, 1919, Sir John Alcock and A. W. Brown made a non-stop flight from St. John's, Newfoundland, to Clifden in Ireland. Eight years later, on May 20th, 1927, a young airman named Charles Lindbergh made a solo flight from Mineola, in New York, to Paris, arriving on May 21st.

At home America was preoccupied; at first with an abounding prosperity, which lasted for a decade after the war; then with a grim anti-climax, which shook the country's confidence in the inevitability of progress, and plunged the American nation deep in a moral and material depression that might well have led to revolution and anarchy. There was no time to spare for Europe and her troubles while all these stimulating and disastrous events were occurring in the nineteen-twenties and early thirties.

Chapter Twenty

THE GOLDEN AGE AND THE NEW DEAL

PRESIDENT HARDING died on August 2nd, 1923, and Calvin Coolidge took his place. Some regrettable administrative scandals occurred during the Harding administration, notably in connection with the government oil reserves, which led to a Senate investigation. Coolidge, a dry, taciturn New Englander, was re-elected in the campaign of 1924, and the Republican party remained in power. Coolidge was admired; he believed in "normalcy," and he stood for good business and common sense in the eyes of the public. The most popular campaign slogan was "Keep Coolidge," and it was a tribute to the impression the President created.

No other American president had begun his term of office amid conditions that promised so well, in a period when prosperity seemed to be so solidly established, and when a new spirit of adventure was abroad. The old frontier spirit that had beckoned men westwards had never died; the frontier had at last been submerged in the waves of the Pacific, but the spirit remained. Now it was transferred to industry and commercial enterprise. Industry and her glamorous handmaidens, high-powered salesmanship and planned advertising, flourished behind America's tariff wall. Millions of consumers awaited the

mass-produced output of the factories. More and more industries were started ; wages were plentiful ; the standard of living rose ; luxuries and comforts came into millions of homes, and the American people bought cars, radio sets, refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, and more clothes and furniture and better homes than people were able to command in any other country. There seemed to be no limit to the expansion of this golden age. But there was a limit to American hospitality : immigration had to be restricted.

Impoverished, war-torn countries across the Atlantic observed what was happening, and while many embittered and disgruntled Europeans might speak of America as "Shylock," and imply that the war was the real reason for the flourishing condition of American industry, many Europeans were determined to share in that material well-being. Between 1921 and 1930, 3,028,657 immigrants from Europe and the British Isles entered the United States, and of these 455,315 came from Italy ; 412,202 from Germany ; 227,734 from Poland ; 220,591 from Ireland ; 159,781 from Scotland ; 157,420 from England, and 102,194 from Czecho-Slovakia. In the previous decade, 1911-1920, the total number of British and European immigrants was 4,864,153. The reduction after 1920 in the figures was the result of legislation which was designed to limit immigration. On May 1st, 1917, a new law came into operation. It was directed against immigrants from southern, central and eastern Europe. An "illiteracy test" was applied, which excluded all aliens over sixteen years of age, who, though physically capable of writing, were unable to write English or some other language or dialect. The head tax was also increased from \$4 to \$8. The only exceptions allowed under this law were aged or dependent relatives of immigrants, and children under sixteen.

During 1921, the Percentum Limit Act was passed by Congress. This limited the admission of aliens to 3% of

the total number of their compatriots resident in the United States in the census of 1910. Not more than 20% of the annual quota of any nationality was admitted in any month. A further Immigration Act was passed in 1924 which provided for a land border patrol to prevent the entry of aliens in contravention of the immigration law, and also established the principle of issuing immigration visas abroad, in relation to new quotas. These new quotas were based on 2% of the number of foreign-born individuals of each nationality then resident in the United States. The number was determined by the census of 1890.

There were no doubts in America during the early nineteen-twenties about the continuance of economic prosperity; but nobody wanted that prosperity to be diluted by the influx of thousands of job-seeking Europeans. The great wave of immigration that was threatened after the war, was checked and controlled. "America for the Americans" was revived as a slogan, and nationalism, almost of the old "know-nothing" type, reappeared in the most extravagant and lawless forms.

After a long period of suspended animation, the Ku Klux Klan was restored to life, and it demanded that America should be: "Native, white, Protestant!" The word "native" did not refer to the Indians. It stood for native-born, or 100% Americans. The Ku Klux Klan was anti-Semitic and anti-Catholic. It was revived in 1915, and after 1920 it grew rapidly, until by 1925 membership may have exceeded two millions. It was a queer manifestation of misplaced patriotism and superstition and it was attacked vigorously by critical and intelligent people, who realized that a secret society pretending to independent power was inconsistent with democracy, and was mischievous and dangerously irresponsible. In some states it acquired considerable political power; but directly its members

came into politics, and perforce brought into the light of day their ideas and ambitions, the paucity of the Klan's programme was disclosed. It was fundamentally uncreative; it could only act *against* people, sects and institutions. It could persecute; it could not legislate. After 1925, it declined, particularly after some dramatic revelations both of corruption and criminal activity among its leaders had disgusted the general public.

Criminal organizations in those immediate post-war years were becoming far too common for the comfort of American citizens. They were a by-product of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

During the year America entered the war a movement for the prohibition of liquor had been gathering strength. The saloon in America was a great institution. The consumption of liquor was high, and for years propaganda had been conducted against the enjoyment of liquor by the Anti-saloon League and other bodies who associated themselves with the word *temperance* which they used to denote *abstinence*.

Early in 1917 a Federal Anti-liquor Advertising Bill was passed by Congress, which forbade the use of the mails for advertising or soliciting orders for liquor in territories that were "dry." A number of states had voluntarily gone dry. The programme of the so-called temperance advocates was to compel every state in the Union to be dry.

After America entered the war the demand for prohibition increased, and it was suggested that a "dry" country would have greater efficiency in prosecuting the war effort. On August 1st, 1917, the Senate adopted a resolution, proposing to the states the National Prohibition Amendment. This was ratified in January 1919, thirty-six states having voted for the amendment, and on January 29th of that year it became the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Prohibition came into operation on January 16th, 1920, and this great Puritan experiment was an example of American courage. Only a nation that had lost some of the sunny, optimistic faith in the innate goodness of mankind, that had distinguished that great democrat, Thomas Jefferson, could have believed that compulsion was superior to persuasion. An evil existed, and it had been exaggerated by persistent propaganda. Total abstinence was the only remedy, said the prohibitionists. Remove the evil, root it out, and American youth would be saved.

The repressive views of the old, Puritan New Englanders in the seventeenth century were to be spread over the forty-eight states of the Union. Some states were hostile to Prohibition, and among these were three New England States, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island. New York, New Jersey, Maryland and Wisconsin were also opposed to this interference in the private lives of citizens. Some states were uncertain of their attitude ; they hesitated to endorse Prohibition ; but they were in a minority. They included : Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, Illinois, Louisiana, Montana, Nevada and California. The remaining thirty-two states were solidly behind the Eighteenth Amendment.

Nobody could foresee that this ruthless attempt to suppress an evil might create a much greater one. The first noticeable effect of Prohibition was to establish a new kind of business. Smuggling was revived upon a stupendous scale, for a new and enormous demand now existed for liquor of all kinds at almost any price. American enterprise could not tolerate the existence of a demand that seemed perfectly legitimate to a large number of people, without making some attempt to meet it. A huge, illegal commerce developed. Suppliers were called bootleggers, and not only adventurers and enterprising people,

but an increasingly large number of men with criminal records, were attracted by this new trade.

In 1912 that terrible Italian society, the Camorra, had been finally broken up, and some of its members who escaped imprisonment or execution went to America. Many of them settled in Chicago, and in time that city became a centre for all kinds of illegal trading. Presently the illicit liquor trade came into the hands of criminal gangs, who not only mapped out Chicago in supply areas, but took over supply in large sections of the surrounding country. These gangs conducted private warfare to preserve the territorial integrity of their chosen areas. No private, mild-mannered law-breaker could compete with the gangs, unless he cared to pay tribute to them for "protection."

The "booze racket," as it was called, soon began to operate on a nation-wide scale. Gangs were formed in other American cities; and presently the well-intentioned people who had been instrumental in forcing prohibition on the country were shocked and distressed to find that they had, in all innocence, helped to foster and create criminal activities which brought the law into contempt, and which actually increased the consumption of alcohol and made heavy drinking, particularly by young people, seem a smart, clever, and adventurous recreation. Nobody exercised any control over the quality of liquor supplied; and raw spirit, even wood alcohol, was often sold at exorbitant prices by unscrupulous dealers.

Prohibition was not discarded until 1933, when on February 20th, Congress passed the Twenty-First Amendment, repealing the Eighteenth Amendment. By December 5th, 1933, it had been ratified by the necessary thirty-six states, and it went into immediate operation. A furtive unhappy element in American life passed away; the private drinking clubs, the "speak-easies," disappeared;

and people once more resumed openly the good-fellowship that Puritanism had condemned. The experiment was over. Only a great country would have dared to make it ; only a great country would have dared to admit that it had made a mistake.

In the 1928 presidential election, Calvin Coolidge did not stand for re-election. Herbert Hoover was the Republican candidate, and the governor of New York, Alfred E. Smith (popularly known as "Al" Smith) was nominated by the Democratic party. The Republicans carried the election, and President Hoover began his term of office amid conditions just as bright and promising as those enjoyed by the Coolidge Administration. Wages were princely ; thousands of people were wealthy, well on the way to being millionaires—on paper. Everybody speculated ; new industrial enterprises grew up overnight in the dark like fungi ; millions of home-makers were buying on the hire-purchase system their furniture, their cars, their houses and all the incidental luxuries of life, that in a country with high material standards count as necessities. Millions of incomes were mortgaged far ahead as a result of the skilled salesmanship that kept the production lines of the factories moving at speed, pouring goods into homes all over the Union.

In the autumn of 1929 the boom ended. The whole financial structure of the country tottered, and an economic depression began which deepened and darkened until 1933. The country was stunned, bewildered and unbelieving. Prosperity had seemed part of the order of Nature, like the Solar system and the Seasons.

Presently America experienced something they had heard about from Europe and Britain, but which was incredible in their own country—it was unemployment. Technical improvements in the machine production of goods had periodically thrown factory operatives out of

work ; but they were quickly reabsorbed, and the process was regarded as evidence of progress. The " Technocrats " had promised that the future order of society would be based on shorter hours and higher wages, and such an abundance of leisure that all men would belong to a privileged class, slaved for and sustained by machines that did everything but think. Technocracy was the logical outcome of co-ordinated research into labour-saving methods in industrial production. Industry would be committed to paying higher and higher wages for less and less work, because to reduce wages to correspond with shorter hours would impoverish the purchasing power of consumers, and industrial prosperity depended upon the maintenance of that purchasing power. But all these dreams and theories vanished, as with the closing down of factory after factory millions of people were workless, and found themselves unable to continue paying the instalments due on their possessions. The effects of the economic collapse struck deep : for the first time in their history, the American people doubted their ability to control their destiny ; their faith in progress and enterprise was momentarily disturbed.

The Hoover Administration seemed incapable of understanding what had happened to the country. Those outspoken historians, Charles and Mary Beard, in writing of these critical years, recall that during 1919, Hoover, as chairman of the American Relief Administration, had supervised the spending of \$100,000,000 allocated by Congress for alleviating distress in Europe. Congressional leaders in 1931 were suggesting that some federal appropriations should be made to relieve American distress and unemployment, which were increasing alarmingly. No social legislation, comparable to that long-established in Britain for relieving unemployment, existed in America. President Hoover opposed all such suggestions : his ideas

were still attuned to the conditions of the golden age. He insisted that private, local charity must provide relief. In *America in Midpassage*, Charles and Mary Beard quote his reason for adhering to this view. It was necessary, he argued, to "the maintenance of the American system of individual initiative and community responsibility."

The time for such simple platitudes had passed, and as neither Hoover nor the Republican Party seemed to be aware that their ideas were unrelated to the conditions and problems of contemporary life, they lost the election of 1932. The Democratic candidate was Franklin Delano Roosevelt, a distant cousin of Theodore Roosevelt, a man with a long and distinguished record of public service and administrative ability. He became the thirty-second President of the United States.

He had ideas, courage, and the qualities of leadership. Words and pious intentions would not assist the unemployed. Roosevelt produced plans, unorthodox schemes for relief, that seemed almost shocking to such a nation of convinced and ardent individualists; but the American readiness to try anything new gave Roosevelt the support he needed, and gradually what was known as "The New Deal" began to revive the hopes of millions of men and women.

President Roosevelt was granted exceptional powers to facilitate his handling of urgent economic and social problems. He gathered about him a number of men who were unconcerned with politics, and the administration of the New Deal was at first entrusted to technical experts, some of them being college professors. This collection of highly-trained, able men was called the President's Brain Trust.

The New Deal may be regarded as a great preliminary experiment in economic planning. The first piece of large-scale legislation was the National Industrial Recovery Act

of June 1934, which was designed to create employment and to stimulate industry. Public works of all kinds were started, and the National Recovery Administration carried out a nation-wide programme. In hundreds of cities the initials N.R.A. could be seen, displayed on boards where new works were being started—roads, bridges, public buildings and so forth. The first act in the development plan, was the Muscle Shoals and Tennessee Valley Development Act, which was passed on May 18th, 1933.

A few years later attempts were made to upset much of the New Deal legislation, but although these attempts were successful in some instances, the ideas behind the New Deal had come to stay. The N.R.A. was only in existence until 1935; its programme was too progressive, and when some of its activities had effectually relieved the economic situation, it was attacked by many virulent critics. The merits of rugged individualism were strenuously proclaimed, particularly by the Republican Party. The nation was recovering its faith, its stability, and its prejudices.

The New Deal legislation, and the operation of the plans made by the Brain Trust, had certainly created a new bureaucracy. But the cause of much critical discontent among industrialists and the business community, was the thought that the Federal government would use the revenue raised by increasing taxation for the planned exploitation of the nation's natural resources. No progressive American objected to his country being developed; but a nation that had known for over a century the evils of the "spoils system" in politics, feared that the expenditure of public money on public works might well lead to the enrichment at the tax-payers' expense of a new type of bureaucratic politician. Also, it was honestly believed that individual initiative and enterprise might be seriously impaired. There was much talk of freedom for

the individual, and the dangers of regimentation and state control were painted in lurid hues.

Nevertheless, the New Deal was popular with the American public. Many people felt that Roosevelt had rescued the country from a revolution. His plans had relieved unemployment, and industry was gradually recovering. Greater Federal control was established over money and credit, and the banking system was improved, so that the power of national banks was extended. The Federal Reserve Board, under the new banking legislation, was given considerable, if not absolute, control over the financial system. This was intended to prevent a repetition of the collapse which had occurred in 1929.

Roosevelt was renominated by the Democratic Party in 1936, and was re-elected. Before his second term was over, the second German War had begun.

During that term an event occurred of great interest for the English-speaking peoples. In the summer of 1939 the thirty-second President of the United States greeted upon American soil, their Majesties, King George VI and Queen Elizabeth.

In 1940 President Roosevelt accepted renomination for a third term, thus breaking the tradition established by Washington and confirmed by Jefferson. He was re-elected.

Early in his third term, another event took place which concerned not only the English-speaking peoples, but the future of democratic institutions throughout the world.

Chapter Twenty-One

RESTATEMENT OF DEMOCRACY

THE significance of the democratic ideal and its application to the problems of the twentieth-century world were set forth in a joint declaration issued by the United States and Great Britain, which was signed on August 10th, 1941. The American President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, met on the American battleship, U.S.S. *Augusta*, and H.M.S. *Prince of Wales*, in the Atlantic. The joint declaration which they drew up and issued to the world was popularly known as the Atlantic Charter. It was a restatement of democracy, and its implications were world-wide.

The Atlantic Charter consisted of Eight Points, which read as follows :

The President of the United States and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

FIRST, their countries seek no aggrandisement, territorial or other.

SECOND, they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

THIRD, they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live ; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

FOURTH, they will endeavour, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

FIFTH, they desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field, with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement, and social security.

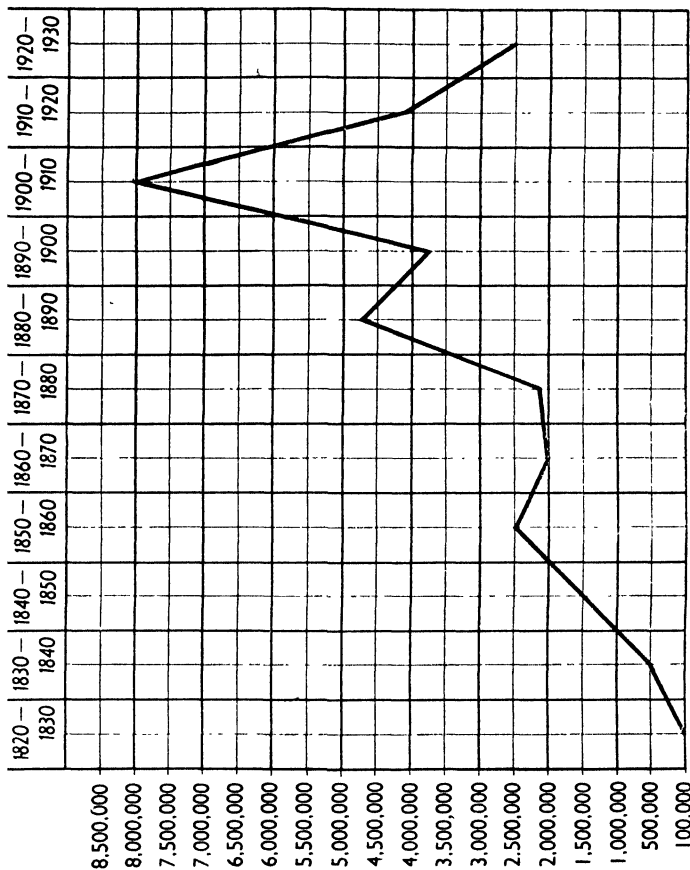
SIXTH, after the final destruction of Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford to all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want.

SEVENTH, such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance.

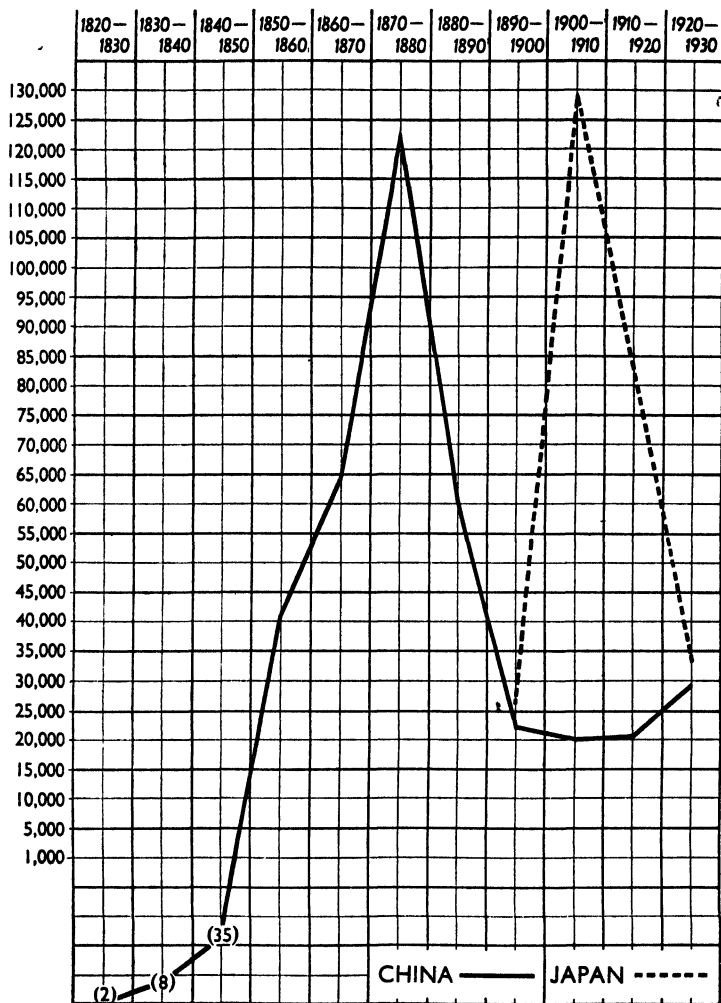
EIGHTH, they believe all of the nations of the world, for realistic as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armament.

The President and the Prime Minister might well have added: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Those words from the Declaration of Independence cannot be too often reiterated; but they are implied in the Atlantic Charter, a document that may do much to repair the folly of a monarch and the corruption of his ministers, which, one hundred and sixty-five years ago, separated the British people from the American nation.



Immigration from Europe and the United Kingdom, 1820-1930. The total population of the United States in 1800 was 5,308,000. In 1820 it had risen to 9,638,000. In 1920 it stood at 105,710,000, and in 1940 the figure was 131,669,275.



Chinese and Japanese Immigration, 1820-1930.

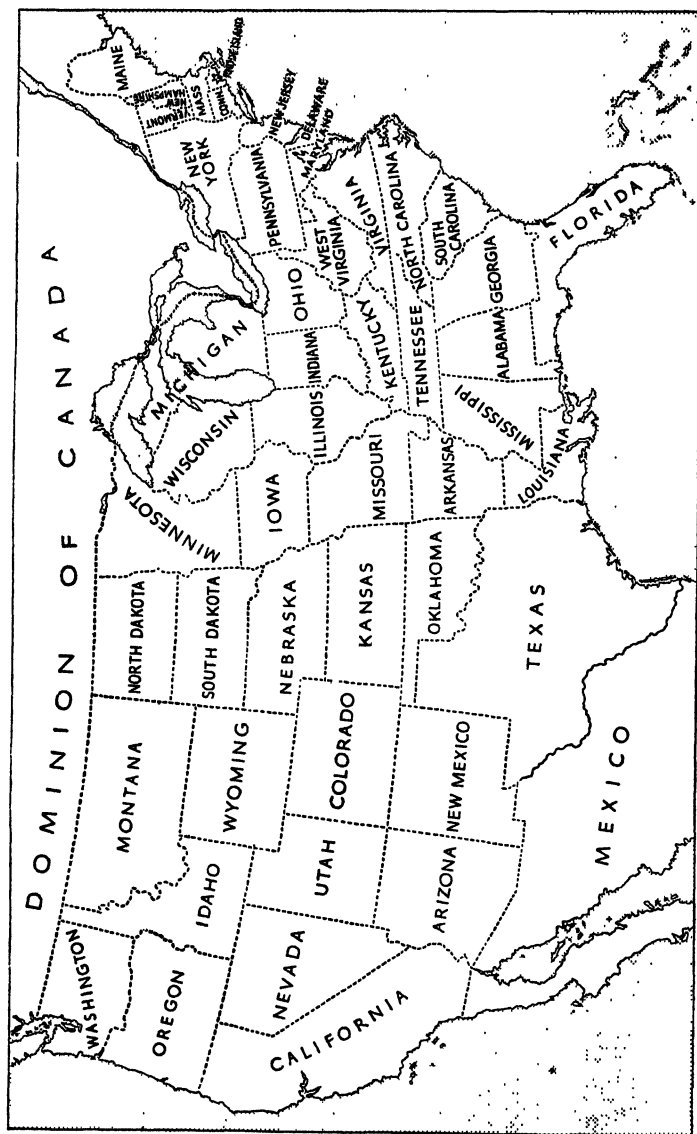
AMERICAN AMBASSADORS AND MINISTERS TO THE COURT OF ST. JAMES

Ministers

1785	John Adams	1846	George Bancroft
1792	Thomas Pinckney	1849	Abbott Lawrence
1796	Rufus King	1852	Joseph R. Ingersoll
1803	James Monroe	1853	James Buchanan
1806	William Pinckney	1856	George M. Dallas
1815	John Quincy Adams	1861	Charles Francis Adams
1817	Richard Rush		
1825	Rufus King	1868	Reverdy Johnson
1826	Albert Gallatin	1869	John Lothrop Motley
1828	James Barbour	1870	Robert C. Schenck
1829	Louis McLane	1876	Edwards Pierrepont
1831	Martin Van Buren	1877	John Welsh
1836	Andrew Stevenson	1880	James Russell Lowell
1841	Edward Everett	1885	Edward J. Phelps
1845	Louis McLane	1889	Robert T. Lincoln

Ambassadors

1893	Thomas F. Bayard	1923	Frank B. Kellogg
1897	John Hay	1925	Alanson B. Houghton
1899	Joseph H. Choate	1929	Charles Gates Dawes
1905	Whitelaw Reid	1932	Andrew W. Mellon
1913	Walter H. Page	1933	Robert W. Bingham
1918	John W. Davis	1938	Joseph P. Kennedy
1921	George Harvey	1941	John G. Winant



13. The Forty-eight States of the Union.

SECTION II. THE INDIVIDUAL STATES

THIS section gives the history of the founding and growth of each of the forty-eight states of the Union, beginning with the oldest, Virginia. Each state has developed a strong individuality of its own, and the strength of this individual character is responsible for the alacrity displayed in the defence of states' rights. A jealous regard for the preservation of those rights has often embarrassed the Federal Government: the cry of "interference" is easily provoked: and members of Congress occasionally display such hair-trigger sensitiveness about states' rights that at times they might almost be taken for the representatives of separate foreign powers rather than participators in a federation. States' rights have been championed and upheld by men of ability and integrity since Jefferson's day. The claim by certain states that they were entitled to secede from the Union was the formal reason for the Civil War; and it was the firm refusal of the Federal Government to admit the extension of states' rights to the point of secession that left no alternative but war.

From coast to coast in the U.S.A. the traveller passes through many different countries, each with its individual habits of thought and ways of life, its special regional architecture, and traces of its past heritage from the first settlers, English, Dutch, French or Spanish. All over this huge land immigrants from Europe and the British Isles—

Scandinavian, Scottish, German or Irish—have found peace, liberty, toleration and equality of opportunity in the past, and their descendants still enjoy those high privileges. This large, loosely-knit, widely-scattered community arising from the original pioneer stock and supplemented by successive waves of immigration spread over nearly two centuries, achieves a paradox of local liberty and federal unity.

The thirteen original colonies were: Virginia, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, North Carolina, South Carolina, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and Georgia.

VIRGINIA

THE first permanent settlement of Virginia was made in 1606, when Jamestown was founded. Two years later Captain John Smith took charge of the colony. The London Virginia Company, which had financed the settlement, was in control of the government until 1624 when the Crown took over the administrative authority. By 1620 the population had risen to over 4,000, and within thirty years it had increased to 15,000.

In 1621 Virginia received a constitution under which the London Company appointed a governor and a council, and representatives were chosen by the people annually from their counties, towns and plantations to sit in the House of Burgesses. This was a miniature of the English House of Commons; but the governor and council had the right to veto its recommendations. This system of government remained until the War of Independence.

Tobacco planting created great wealth for the colony, and the planters lived in a patriarchal state of their own,

often as self-contained communities, their plantations being worked by innumerable Negro slaves. By 1700 the population was 50,000 whites and 20,000 Negroes.

Political events in England did not seriously affect the growth and circumstances of the colony. During the Commonwealth the colonists were divided in their sympathies; but Sir William Berkeley, the Governor, was deposed in 1652, and Richard Bennett, a Puritan Roundhead from Maryland, was appointed in his place. Neither Bennett nor the Puritans who followed him, Edward Diggs and Samuel Matthews, made any change in the administration, but they extended the franchise. When Sir William Berkeley was restored to power in 1660, a period of reaction set in, and the House of Burgesses was controlled by the old-established families, the planter aristocracy.

During the latter part of the seventeenth century there was intermittent trouble with the Indians on the western border, and Nathaniel Bacon organized a war, crushing the Indians in the decisive battle of Bloody Run. For this service he was outlawed by the government, but his forces marched on Jamestown and presented the not unreasonable request that they should be recognized as a military force. Sir William Berkeley obstinately refused, and Bacon defeated the government troops and burned Jamestown. Unfortunately he died in October 1676, and Berkeley ended this brief civil war with executions and harsh confiscations of property, for which acts of stupidity he was recalled to England by Charles II, but died before he had the opportunity of hearing the King's opinion.

In the reign of William and Mary a small village near Jamestown called Middle Plantation was renamed Williamsburg, and it became the capital of Virginia in 1691. In this last decade of the seventeenth century a Scottish churchman named James Blair was appointed head of the clergy in the province and represented the Bishop

of London. He was a man of exceptional ability and he founded and organized educational institutions.

The tobacco planters of Virginia were now an established aristocracy: their children completed their education in England, and the planters and their wives went to London for the winter season. In *The Virginians*, Thackeray draws a convincing picture of that rich, elegant, easygoing life. From these families of planters came men of wit, culture, vision and ability.

In 1716 the governor of the province, Alexander Spotswoode, organized an expedition over the Allegheny Mountains, and opened up the country to the west which was to be known as the Valley of Virginia. This rich, new country attracted thousands of white immigrants, not only from Virginia and the neighbouring state of Pennsylvania, but from Europe.

Forty years later the population stood at 172,000 whites and 120,000 Negroes, and a new class of small farmers had expanded to such an extent that the supremacy of the planters was threatened. These new settlers, who were chiefly Scottish, Scottish-Irish and German, demanded representation; but their request for the making of new counties with representatives in the House of Burgesses was refused. During the Seven Years War, 1756-63, their valiant conduct in battles with the Indians and the French gave them prestige and power which could no longer be denied, and in Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee they discovered two leaders who, between 1763 and 1765, attacked the financial administration of the colony and disclosed the most deplorable corruption. The aristocratic party, the "tide-water" oligarchy, as it was sometimes called, lost the power that it had held tenaciously since 1660.

In 1769 the House of Burgesses declared that the right and power of taxation, direct and indirect, rested only with

the local assembly. These were the famous Virginia Resolves, and they caused the governor, Norborne Berkeley, Baron de Botetourt, speedily to dissolve the assembly. But the formal dissolution of the House of Burgesses could not arrest discussion among free men : in the Raleigh Tavern at Williamsburg the burgesses met and issued their resolutions without troubling to have them confirmed by the executive. Thomas Jefferson had now joined Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee in the political leadership of the colony.

Virginia eagerly supported the Revolution against English control, and took a prominent part in the Continental Congresses which directed the War of Independence. In 1775 Patrick Henry raised a regiment of militia, and the governor, John Murray, the Earl of Dunmore, found it advisable to retire to an English warship in Chesapeake Bay.

After the war the Virginian leaders urged the formation of a national government with strong powers to replace the Confederacy with its loose and ill-defined authority. In 1784 Virginia, not without reluctance, ceded to the Federal Government the north-west territory which it had held under charter since 1609. (Map 8, page 68.) In 1792 another large area to the west beyond the mountains became an independent state under the name of Kentucky.

Virginia had established a tradition of leadership which was maintained until well into the eighteen-thirties, and until 1861 the Virginians consistently defended slavery. In that year the governor of Virginia called an extra session of the legislative assembly shortly after the Federal election, and the legislature called a convention which met on February 13th. Although the majority of the representatives supported the Union, the convention passed an ordinance of secession when the Federal Government called upon the state to furnish its quota of armed men to act against the insurrection in the south. Without consulting

the electors, the convention made an alliance with the provisional government of the Confederate States and called out 10,000 troops and appointed as their commander Colonel Robert E. Lee. Lee himself had spent many miserable, doubtful hours pacing up and down in front of the tall porch of the Lee Mansion at Arlington, before he decided to join the Confederacy. (Section I, Chapter XIV, page 150.)

Virginia was one of the chief battle-grounds of the Civil War. After Lee's surrender to Grant at Appomatox, President Lincoln addressed his mind to the task of conciliation and reconstruction. His plan for re-establishing the civil administration over the counties between the Allegheny Mountains and the sea was adopted and continued until 1867 when the state was converted into Military District No. 1. General John N. Schofield was put in charge and a convention was summoned which conferred suffrage upon former Negro slaves. The state was governed in this manner until 1869, when Secessionists and Unionists once more collaborated and regained control of the state, and Virginia was readmitted to the Union in January 1870.

The first President of the Council of Virginia under the London Company was Edward Maria Wingfield, 1607; Captain John Smith was President from 1608-9; the first governor under the Crown was Sir Francis Wyatt, a former governor under the Company; the last governor under the Crown was the Earl of Dunmore, whose power ended in 1775. The first state governor of Virginia was Patrick Henry.

MASSACHUSETTS

MASSACHUSETTS is an Indian name. The first adequate map of its coastline was made by Captain John Smith in 1614, although in 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold had discovered and named Cape Cod. The first permanent settlement was at Plymouth, and was made by the Puritan "pilgrims," who sailed in the *Mayflower*. They landed on December 21st, 1620. They had been granted a patent by the London Virginia Company, but when they reached a region outside that patent they drew up and signed a compact before they landed at Plymouth. In this democratic document, the signatories declared that they did "solemnly and mutually covenant and combine ourselves together into a civic body politic for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereto to enact, constitute and frame laws unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

Plymouth became a colony in 1627, with its chief authority vested in a General Court which represented all the free men in the colony. The first governor of the little community of settlers was John Carver, who died in 1621, and his successor was William Bradford.

New England was the name at first given to the territory which later became the separate states of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Maine. It was granted by a charter in 1620 to the New England Council. The jurisdiction of this Council covered all the territory that lay between latitudes 40° and 48° North—from the middle of New Jersey to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The New England Council lasted for fifteen years, and in 1628 this body made a grant (subsequently confirmed by Royal Charter) to the Governor

and Company of Massachusetts Bay. The date of the Royal Charter was March 4th, 1629, and that date represents the birth of the colony of Massachusetts.

In 1630 the Governor and the Company took up residence in their territory under the leadership of John Winthrop, settling at Boston. Before that date a few planters had been living on the Boston peninsula, and the harbour with its guardian islands was particularly suitable for commerce and could be easily defended. The name of the peninsula was at first Trimountaine, after the three peaks of Beacon Hill (a name preserved to-day as Tremont), but in 1630 it was decided that Trimountaine should be called Boston, after the borough in Lincolnshire, England, the original home of many of the settlers.

The early history of the colony was marred by religious disputes, which were conducted with a fanatical bitterness. An austere, intolerant form of government arose, with the clergy as the ruling class. Ruthless legislation against Baptists and Quakers gave the Puritan leaders a form of self-expression which within half a century so debased the general standards of humane conduct that refugees from the colony were constantly seeking new homes in the adjoining territory.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century witch-hunting became an obsession of the New England colonists, and at Salem in particular, the fevers of superstition led to implacable persecutions. The witchcraft period was ended abruptly in 1693 when the Governor, Sir William Phips, ordered the immediate release from detention of all prisoners held on the charge of witchcraft. Before that date hundreds of people had been arrested and tried, and several had been hanged.

In 1636 the General Court of the colony voted £400 towards the establishment of a school or college to be founded at New Town; and two years later it was named

Cambridge in memory of the English university. In that year a Puritan minister, named John Harvard, a bachelor and master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, died at Charlestown and left half his estate and a library of three hundred books to this new college which was then named Harvard (1639), and began its long history as an educational institution. (Section IV, page 352.) In that year the first printing in the American colonies was done at Cambridge. Boston produced the first regular newspaper in the colonies, the *Boston Newsletter*.

Towns and settlements multiplied throughout the seventeenth century. In 1636 William Pynchon founded the settlement of Agawam (named after the Indians of that locality); in 1640 the name was changed to Springfield after the native place of its founder in Essex, England. Side by side with settlement, exploration and commercial expansion were Indian wars, the first in 1637 leading to the earliest experiment in federation made by the colonies, when Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Haven and New Plymouth formed a federation in 1643 in order to fight the war more efficiently.

The Massachusetts colonists showed a stubborn determination to run their own affairs, and almost from the founding of the colony they were putting their own interpretation upon the terms of their Charter. This Charter was annulled by the Crown in 1684, and two years later the local government was taken over by Joseph Dudley, a native of the colony who acted as president of a provisional council until Sir Edmund Andros was sent from England with instructions to unite New England and New York under his governorship. The colonists were resentful at this curtailment of their political liberty; not that they had any tenderness for real liberty. They had used their independence to suppress religious freedom. As an independent colony Massachusetts had instituted the

death penalty for holding certain religious opinions, had excluded the English *Book of Common Prayer*, had narrowed the franchise, and had not exacted the oath of allegiance to the sovereign, insisting only upon an oath of fidelity to the colonial government. The colony had also coined its own money.

Sir Edmund Andros soon found that he was governing a hornet's nest. His government was so unpopular that in April 1689 Boston revolted, deposed and imprisoned the governor, and reinstated the colonial form of government.

The colony's agent in England tried to get a new Charter issued which would preserve the old form of government, and Plymouth colony also made efforts through their agent in London to obtain a Royal Charter which would give them a separate existence; but Plymouth eventually accepted union with Massachusetts when association with New York became the alternative. In 1691 the province of Maine was also united with Massachusetts in a new provincial charter; and the first Royal Governor commissioned under the charter was Sir William Phips.

This new charter mitigated the severity of the religious tests for office and suffrage, and gave full liberty of conscience to colonists, excluding only Roman Catholics. That hideous wave of witch trials was the last reign of terror staged by religious fanatics, and it was ended for ever by the firmness of the new government.

Anglican churchmen had now come to the colony. The preoccupation of the colonists with the fiercer forms of theology was gradually replaced by an increasing devotion to business. The struggle to regain their independence under the first colonial charter continued, and the prerogative of the royal governor was a permanent irritant. An open clash with the Crown was only averted by the periodic wars with the French and the Indians, which compelled the antagonistic factions in the colony to unite

in the face of a common danger. For four years (1697-1701) Massachusetts was united with New York under the administration of Richard Coote, Earl of Bellomonto.

The colony furnished many troops in the intermittent wars of the eighteenth century, the frontier struggles and Indian raids which occurred before the War of Independence.

The colony led the opposition to the increasing pressure of the Crown, particularly after the imposition of the Stamp Act in 1765. The governors appointed by the Crown were small-minded men with a capacity for pettifogging tyranny which outraged the colonists, and at last the temperature of bitter feeling rose so high that in 1768 several regiments of royal troops were sent to Boston. This protective measure ended in the first bloodshed of the revolution, known as the Boston Massacre, which was the result of an argument between some soldiers and labourers. It might be interpreted as a necessary act of self-defence on the part of a file of garrison troops who were attacked by a large and furious mob (1770). With its tradition of strenuous independence and the taste it had acquired for the practical expression of that quality in civic administration, Boston quickly assumed leadership in the power and scale of the protests, which, as one year of black misunderstanding succeeded another, grew from the small grumblings of discontent to such dimensions that civil war was not only inevitable but welcome.

After the Boston Tea Party incident, the English Parliament closed the port of Boston (1774), and the governorship was entrusted to General Thomas Gage, who added to the incompetence and stupidity of a General Braddock a gift for inventing pin-prick annoyances.

Throughout the War of Independence Massachusetts, and in particular Boston, were deeply involved. From the outbreak of war until 1780 a provisional government was

in power, and under the constitution John Hancock became the first governor. In 1786 and 1787 there was a rising in the western counties of the state, which was known as the Shays Rebellion. It was led by a few demagogues, and the second governor of the state, James Bowdoin, set an example of conciliation and firmness by stopping this insurrection with a minimum of bloodshed. The insurgents, under Daniel Shays, a violent revolutionary soldier of inconspicuous mental capacity, assembled at Springfield and attempted to stop the sitting of the Supreme Court. Governor Bowdoin raised an army of over 4,000 men and put it under the command of Major-General Benjamin Lincoln, who dispersed Shays' followers. The rebellion gradually faded out, and the legislature showed its good sense when in 1788 Shays' petition for pardon was granted. In that year Massachusetts ratified the Federal Constitution, and in time became a strong Federalist state.

During the war of 1812 the state gave many fine seamen to the young American Navy. In the Civil War Massachusetts built many ships for the Federal Navy, and over 26,000 sailors fought for the Union: as in the War of Independence and the war of 1812 the state's capacity for raising men was once again proved. At the end of the nineteenth century during the Spanish-American War the state provided nearly 12,000 soldiers and sailors.

The first governor of Plymouth colony, John Carver, was appointed in 1620. The first governor of Massachusetts, under the first charter, was John Endecott, 1629. Under the second charter, the first governor appointed by the Crown was Sir William Phips, 1692. The first governor under the Constitution was John Hancock, 1780.

CONNECTICUT

THE earliest European settlement in Connecticut was made by the Dutch on the present site of Hartford in 1633. At that time the vaguely defined Dutch colony of the New Netherlands followed the Connecticut River for its eastern boundary. In the same year an English trading post was established on that river between Hartford and Springfield at Windsor, by some members of the Plymouth colony. John Oldham of Massachusetts gave such good reports of the richness of the river valley that many immigrants from towns in that colony left for Connecticut. Soon settlements were founded at Wethersfield, and the Windsor post was enlarged. Some of the settlers were refugees from the severity of the Massachusetts government; but in 1639 they produced what were known as the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, which certainly imitated the administrative machinery of Massachusetts. A General Court was regarded as the supreme civil authority, and consisted of deputies from the towns; a governor and magistrates were elected at a session of the Court which was attended by all the freemen of the towns. The powers of the Court were vague, and the operation of government was determined by the Fundamental Orders.

In 1638 another party of immigrants from Massachusetts settled at New Haven, some thirty miles west of the mouth of the Connecticut River. New Haven was at first distinguished by the strictness of its government and the introduction of what were called the "Blue Laws." These laws were concerned with regulating the life of every individual in the community in such minute detail that it is doubtful whether they were all enforced. They provided the death penalty for adultery and for conspiracy

against the administration, and they turned the full blast of religious intolerance upon Quakers and other sects, casually labelling them as "blasphemous heretics."

In 1635 another Puritan settlement was established at Saybrook, at the mouth of the Connecticut River. It was founded by an English company, whose most active and enterprising members were William Fiennes, Lord Saye and Sele, and Robert Greville, Lord Brooke. George Fenwick, another member of the company, came to Saybrook in 1639, and five years later he sold the colony to Connecticut. The Saye and Sele Company had obtained from the Earl of Warwick his alleged interest in the territory which lay west of Narragansett Bay, this western boundary being fixed by what was called the South Sea; exactly where that was in relation to the eastern seaboard of the North American continent was at that time quite unknown, although the Pacific Ocean was implied. The whole question of the title to this territory was vague, but it was suggested that the Plymouth Company had originally made a grant to the Earl of Warwick.

In 1662 the New Haven colony was incorporated within the boundaries of Connecticut by Royal Charter; and this was done over the heads of the New Haven colonists, who objected. But when the Dutch territory of the New Netherlands was ceded to England and became the colony of New York in 1664, and it seemed likely that some part of the Connecticut territory would be included in New York, the New Haven colonists agreed to the union with Connecticut in 1665. In that year Hartford became the capital of the united colonies, although from 1701 until 1873 New Haven was joint capital with Hartford.

Connecticut was administered by a corporation which was entitled the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Connecticut in New England in America. The existing administrative system was preserved, royal and

parliamentary interference over legislation was reduced to a minimum, and in the colony there developed an independent and able government which regarded its charter as the supreme authority.

Boundary questions provided the Connecticut colonists with almost continuous quarrels in the seventeenth century. There were disputes with Massachusetts and Rhode Island, because the Dutch territorial line had been pushed westwards from the Connecticut River more than half-way to the Hudson; and when the Dutch territory was ceded to England more trouble arose over the suggestion that the boundaries of New York should stretch eastwards to the Connecticut River. Attempts to unite Connecticut to New York and to Massachusetts failed.

When Sir Edmund Andros visited Hartford in 1687 to suspend the charter of the colony, the discussion that took place was prolonged into the night until the candles were extinguished, and the document which had been brought to the meeting was removed and hidden, so the story runs, in an oak tree which was afterwards known as the Charter Oak. Although unable to secure the document, Andros dissolved the administration; government under the Charter was restored after 1688, and its authority was unimpaired by the period of suspension.

With the opening of the eighteenth century religious intolerance abated, and many new churches were built, some of them based on the designs of such famous English architects as Christopher Wren. (Section V, page 366.) The Church of England was allowed in the colony in 1727, and two years later the Baptists and the Quakers obtained privileges.

During the War of Independence few actions took place on Connecticut territory and no big battles were fought. In 1776, when the government of the colony was re-organized, the Charter of 1662 was adopted as the Civil Con-

stitution of the state under the sole authority of the people. The limits of its western territory were never settled. In theory the western boundary was the Pacific; but after the War of Independence a court was appointed by the Confederation in 1782, at which the claims of Connecticut to all western lands were relinquished. (Map 8, page 68.)

The state of Connecticut was firmly Federalist in the early years of the Republic, although the incorporation of state troops in the Federal Army was strongly opposed. In time the establishment of a good state government, the rise of industrial interests, and restless criticism by the Nonconformist sects of the Establishment, brought about a powerful coalition against the Federalists. In 1817 these united critics swept out the Federalists in a state election, together with their existing constitution.

The industrial development of the state continued throughout the nineteenth century, growing healthily and creating wealth.

The first governor of the colony was John Haynes, 1639. The last governor of the colony was Jonathan Trumbull, 1776, who was also the first of the state governors. (He was the original "Brother Jonathan." Chapter X, page 108.)

MARYLAND

IN 1632 a charter was granted by Charles I to George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, conveying to him the territory which became the colony of Maryland. Lord Baltimore died before the charter was completed, and it was issued to his heir. Maryland was primarily intended to be a place of refuge for persecuted Roman Catholics. It was separated from the persecuted Puritans who had settled in New England by a large area of Dutch territory, the New Netherlands, so contact was obviated, and the

peace of the new settlement preserved. All creeds were tolerated in Maryland, and this happy condition of affairs remained until 1689, when Roman Catholics were forbidden to practise their religion.

The first governor, Leonard Calvert, was a brother of the first Lord Baltimore, and his administration was wise and able; one proof of its wisdom being the friendly relations which existed between the colonists and the Indians—a friendliness which was maintained.

Unfortunately the early peace of the colony was disturbed by William Claiborne, who had established a trading-post on Kent Island in Chesapeake Bay a year before the Maryland charter was granted. He had opposed the charter, and forcibly resisted the government. In time his followers were brought under control; but during the Civil War in England Claiborne returned to Maryland, and accompanied by Richard Ingle, a pirate, raised a rebellion which drove Governor Calvert from his office. Some Puritan exiles from Virginia joined Claiborne, and until the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, there was considerable unrest in the colony.

Although the charter gave specific powers to the proprietor to call assemblies of the freemen or their delegates, and left the time and manner of summoning such assemblies entirely to his discretion, in 1638 the proprietor renounced his right to initiate legislation. In 1650 the assembly was divided into two houses, one representing the freemen, whose consent was necessary before any bill could become law. In 1670 the proprietor attempted to curb the powers of the freeman by disfranchising all those with a freehold of less than 50 acres or a visible estate of £40 sterling. But this reactionary step provoked protest, and Maryland certainly equalled the Puritan colonies in displaying a capacity for independence.

Boundary disputes with Pennsylvania and Delaware were

settled between 1682 and 1685, with the result that Maryland shrank. Long and acrimonious disputes about the Pennsylvania border were carried on generation after generation, until the survey made by Mason and Dixon between 1763 and 1767 established indisputably the northern border of the colony. (Section I, Chapter II, page 20; also Map 12, page 141.)

After the English revolution of 1688, the proprietary government was overthrown, following some preliminary propaganda about an alleged Popish plot to kill or dispose of colonists who were not Roman Catholics. In 1692 the Crown took over the colony, but allowed the proprietor to preserve his territorial rights. The Church of England was established by the Royal Government, and when the proprietor ceased to be a Roman Catholic in 1715 the proprietary government was restored. In the interval the colonists had acquired considerable control of their government, and the restoration of the proprietors' administration caused innumerable disputes.

Industry was developed in the colony during the seventeen-thirties when Germans in great numbers settled in the west and central part.

The Maryland colonists had become experts in protesting against measures of which they disapproved and their protests against the Stamp Act were given special point and power by a brilliant lawyer, named Daniel Dulany. Although indignation reached a high altitude at the beginning of the dispute with Britain, even to the extent of staging a tea party in rivalry to Boston when a ship with a cargo of tea was burned, yet the colony was reluctant to make the final break. At the Continental Congress the Maryland delegates had been instructed not to vote for independence, and those instructions held until it was discovered that Maryland was almost alone—then the orders were withdrawn.

The constitution adopted in 1776, which replaced the charter, was not democratic in character; the property qualification for suffrage was not abolished until 1810.

The British burned Frederick, Havre de Grace and Frenchtown during the War of 1812; but an attempted attack by land and sea against the city of Baltimore was defeated in 1814. (Map 10, page 100.) Fort McHenry was an effective shield to the city. During this attack by the British forces, Francis Scott Key was detained on board one of the British attacking vessels when he went with a flag of truce to negotiate for the release of a friend who was being held as a prisoner; and he occupied the period of his detention by composing the *Star-Spangled Banner*.

The tobacco plantations in the southern counties of the state, with their slave-holding proprietors, represented considerable wealth, and it was not until the Civil War, when Maryland was largely under the control of the Federal Government, that there was any demand for the abolition of slavery.

In 1861 Maryland was opposed to secession; but respect for states' rights also caused opposition to the idea of applying coercion to the seceding states. During the Civil War the western section was loyal to the Union, while the south favoured the Confederate states. The only noteworthy battle of the war fought on Maryland territory was Sharpsburg, 16th-17th September, 1862.

The first proprietary governor of Maryland was Leonard Calvert, 1633, the last was John Coode, 1689-92. The first royal governor was Sir Leonard Copley, 1692, and the last Robert Eden, 1776. The first state governor was Thomas Johnson, 1777.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN 1622 the territory between the Salem and Merrimac Rivers in New England was granted to John Mason. It was given the name of Mariana, and it was part of that great grant of land which the Council of New England had obtained from James I, and which covered all the country between the 40th and 48th parallels, westwards from the coast.

In 1622 John Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges had been jointly granted the land between the Merrimac and Kennebec Rivers, sixty miles inland from the coast, under the name of Maine; but in 1629 the district which lay between the Merrimac and Piscataqua was allotted to John Mason alone, under the name of New Hampshire. This colony never received a Royal Charter. An early settlement had been founded in 1623 at Little Harbour in the town of Rye. Colonists came to this region, some being sent by the Laconia Company in 1630, and other settlers came from Massachusetts, notably the Reverend John Wheelwright, who had been banished from that colony.

During the middle years of the seventeenth century conflicts and disputes about the northern border of Massachusetts caused much trouble to the heirs of Mason, whose grants were ignored by the Puritan government of Massachusetts. Robert Tufton Mason, a grandson of the original proprietor, petitioned Parliament and, after 1660, the King, for the re-establishment of his legal rights. The Attorney-General to whom the petition was referred, confirmed Mason's title to the lands, and a commission appointed by Charles II in 1664 exempted these lands from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. For ten years Mason tried in vain to get this exemption recognized. At last he offered to surrender all his rights in the territory

to the Crown, but the offer was rejected. A further petition from Mason resulted in the case against Massachusetts being tried in England before the Lord Chief Justice in 1677. But even then there was no final settlement of the claims. Two years later Mason petitioned the King to appoint a governor who would exercise jurisdiction over his claims, and in that year New Hampshire became a separate province with a president and a council appointed by the King and an assembly elected by the people. From 1686 to 1689 New Hampshire was part of the Dominion of New England under the Governor-General, Sir Edmund Andros, but at the end of that time an attempt was made to establish a convention of the citizens of its four towns; this failed and until 1692 there was a nominal union with Massachusetts. Then Samuel Allen, the assign of Mason, succeeded in getting a Royal Government established with John Usher, his son-in-law, as Lieutenant-Governor, and thereafter New Hampshire was separated from Massachusetts, although from 1699 to 1741 they shared the same governor. Boundary disputes still occupied both the colonies until New Hampshire, with a long precedent of petitioning to the home government to guide it, applied to Parliament for a decision about the boundary, and in 1737 a Royal Commission was ordered, composed of councillors from New York, Nova Scotia and Rhode Island. Even after the southern boundary had been decided, the disputes continued, because the western boundary was still undefined, and that started a controversy with New York. It was not until 1764 that the colony secured from the King a Royal Charter, which fixed the boundary at the western bank of the Connecticut River.

New Hampshire was afflicted by almost constant warfare with the Indians. This strained the colony's resources and retarded its development; but after 1759 the Indian threat was removed, the population increased and the

colony flourished. When the War of Independence was over, the state of New Hampshire was unwilling to ratify the Federal Constitution. The State Convention which met at Exeter in February 1788 to discuss ratification had to adjourn, reassembling five months later at Concord, when it was agreed to accept the Constitution. The war had left the state in a condition of financial chaos, with its citizens and administration oppressed by debts. The citizens demanded the issue of paper money which would equal the amount of the state's debt; and when this was refused by the legislature an armed mob broke into the meeting-house at Exeter; but the incipient rebellion was stopped by General John Sullivan, the president of the state. With a force of militia and some volunteers, he arrested the leaders and ended the trouble without bloodshed.

Concord became the state capital in 1808, and in that year and city, the New Hampshire *Patriot* was first published. Founded and edited by Isaac Hill, this newspaper had great influence upon the political history of the state, for Hill, who became state governor in 1836-39, was a great advocate of Jacksonian Democracy. The Democratic Party was divided in the 'forties over the question of slavery, and control of the state passed to the Republicans.

The first president of the province was John Cutt, 1679, and the last governor was John Wentworth, 1775. During the transitional period when New Hampshire was neither a state nor a province, Matthew Thornton was president of the Provisional Convention. The first state president was Mesheck Weare, 1777, and the last state president and first state governor was Josiah Bartlett, 1792.

RHODE ISLAND

RHODE ISLAND, the smallest state in the Union, was originally peopled by refugees from Massachusetts seeking religious and political freedom. In 1636 settlements were made at Providence by Roger Williams, and at Portsmouth on the island of Aquidneck. The name of this island was changed in 1644 to Rhode Island. The original settlers there were William Coddington, John Clark and Anne Hutchinson in 1638. Coddington and Clark moved from Portsmouth in 1639, and founded another settlement at Newport. In 1640 Portsmouth and Newport were united.

By the Patent of 1644 the entire colony was called Providence Plantations, but when a charter was issued in 1663, the title of the colony was Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. This charter, granted by Charles II, was revoked under the administration of Sir Edmund Andros in 1686, but was restored after 1689.

Compared with the colonies of Massachusetts and Connecticut, which formed the east, north and west borders, the area of Rhode Island was small, but it was prosperous and during the seventeenth century it passed from a purely agricultural condition and began to enjoy a flourishing commercial period. Newport was not only a large trading centre ; it was also an actively illegal trading centre from which pirates and privateers operated and smugglers ran their cargoes.

During the War of Independence the colonists of Rhode Island took a leading part. In 1772 the *Gaspee*, a British vessel charged with the enforcement of the Trade and Navigation Act, ran aground in Narraganset Bay and was burned by men from Providence.

In common with the other New England colonies, Rhode

Island had developed a taste for independence, but unlike her neighbours, Massachusetts and Connecticut, she advocated tolerance for all religious and political views. In the struggle for federation which followed the War of Independence, Rhode Island was instrumental in defeating the proposal to authorize Congress, under the Articles of Confederation, to levy an import duty of 5 per cent. in order to help the Federal Government to pay its way. ^u

At the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787, when a stronger federal government was advocated, Rhode Island refused to send delegates, and it was not until the Senate had gone to the length of passing a bill cutting off commercial relations between the United States and Rhode Island that this reluctant state consented to ratify the Federal Constitution—by a majority of two votes.

Early in the nineteenth century the industrial capacity of the colony grew considerably. Providence, which possessed and exploited excellent water-power facilities, became one of the chief manufacturing centres of New England. The political system was soon quite unrelated to the new development in wealth, and the extension of population produced the anomaly of a large and prosperous area occupied by people who were disfranchised. The city of Providence made continuous efforts for a constitutional convention, for forty years without avail, until a young lawyer, Thomas W. Dorr, planned a systematic campaign for extending the suffrage, and for the rearrangement of representation. It was a battle between the country and the town. A convention was at last summoned without authority from the legislature; it met at Providence in 1841, and drafted what was called the People's Constitution. Another convention, called by the legislature, met in 1842, and adopted the Freeman's Constitution. But the People's Constitution was submitted to the popular vote and was ratified; while the latter was rejected. At an

election held in April 1842 Thomas W. Dorr was chosen governor: but the supreme court of the state and the President of the United States refused to recognize the People's Constitution. This caused a violent outbreak of the traditional individualism of Rhode Island: Dorr and some of his more hot-headed supporters organized a rebellion, which ended in Dorr's conviction for high treason and a sentence of imprisonment for life. He was released after a year. The Freeman's Constitution in a modified form was finally adopted in 1842.

The first governor of Portsmouth and Newport, Rhode Island, was William Coddington, 1640. The first president under the Patent of 1644 was John Coggeshall, 1647. The first governor under the Charter of 1663 was Benedict Arnold. The first governor under the Constitution of 1842 was James Fenner.

NORTH CAROLINA

NORTH and South Carolina have a common history until the early part of the eighteenth century, for it was not until 1670 that South Carolina was administered as a separate territory. Although the territory south of Virginia had been granted by Charles I in 1629 to Robert Heath, the settlement of this area did not begin until much later. There is some controversy regarding the origin of the name. Some authorities assert that it was named in honour of Charles I, or of Charles II, who granted the first Charters in 1663 and 1665; but another view attributes a French origin to the name, because a French settlement of Huguenots had been attempted in 1562, and the territory had then been named after Charles IX of France. (Map 2, page 13.)

In 1663, North Carolina became a proprietary province.

At first it was known as Albemarle, and it was not until after 1689 that it was called North Carolina. The first settlers came chiefly from Virginia. From the early days of the settlement there was a distinct division between the north and south sections of Carolina, and although the proprietors attempted to unite these sections, and in 1691 appointed one governor over both, the system did not work, and North Carolina had to be ruled by a deputy governor. Between the two territories lay wild, undeveloped land, which formed a natural boundary, so that it was some time before the inevitable border disputes arose between North and South Carolina. Various surveys were made from 1729 onwards, but it was not until 1819 that the boundary was finally agreed. Before the Charter was granted a permanent colony had been founded at Albermarle, and this colony grew rapidly. Towards the end of the seventeenth century other settlers arrived from Pennsylvania.

The proprietary period lasted from 1663 until 1729, and administrative troubles were almost continuous. Two revolts grew to dangerous dimensions. In 1677, John Culpeper led a movement to object to the payment of an export tax on tobacco. This was serious enough, and helped to establish a precedent for protest against taxation which was to grow throughout the eighteenth century until, in 1776, it reached its logical conclusion. The other revolt was purely religious, and was led by Thomas Carey. It took the form of opposition to the establishment of the Church of England in the province, and was naturally supported by all the Dissenters. This trouble continued from 1708 until the Church was established in 1711.

An Indian war began in 1711 and lasted for two years. It freed the province from Indian trouble for a long time. North Carolina remained a proprietary province until 1729, and in that year, by Act of Parliament, the proprietors surrendered their claims to the Crown for due compensa-

tion. Throughout the period of government by the Crown the political life of the province was often disturbed by controversies with the administration about the regulation of commerce, taxation, and religion. The province was saddled with a peculiarly difficult royal governor, William Tryon (1765-1771), whose conduct did much to inflame the growing opposition to British control. In 1768 a revolt was organized as a protest against taxes and the methods of collecting them. Hermon Husband was the principal leader, but, as a Quaker, he never advocated violent action, so it was left to less level-headed people to maintain the conflict with the administration. This revolt was known as "The Regulation," and the self-styled "Regulators" were determined to regulate "public grievances and abuses of power."

In the matter of taxation, they went on strike, and military force was used from time to time. The dispute culminated in a pitched battle in May 1771, when royal troops met and ultimately defeated a large number of Regulators. These troubles continued with unabated vigour even when Governor Tryon had concluded his term of office. Although they were connected with taxation they cannot be regarded as preliminary moves in the War of Independence. They were essentially local disturbances, and did not fit into any concerted political scheme for repudiating the home government.

In 1774 a Provincial Congress met at Newbern; it elected delegates to the Continental Congress, and a second Provincial Congress met the following year. The royal governor, Josiah Martin, realizing that his power had slipped away from him, abandoned the colony and took refuge aboard a British man-of-war. During the War of Independence the territory was invaded twice, and two big battles were fought there, at Moore's Creek, on February 27th, 1776, and Guilford Court House, on March 15th, 1781.

In 1784, North Carolina ceded to the Federal Government territory that lay on the western border, and which ultimately became the state of Tennessee. Internal political troubles, and disputes between the eastern and western counties of the state, were constant during the first third of the nineteenth century. In the Civil War, North Carolina, although wholly in sympathy with the South, worked hard for some compromise which would avert actual conflict. The state sent delegates to the Washington Peace Convention in February 1861; and they only declared for secession on May 20th of that year, following the President's call for troops. It was not until the end of the Civil War that the state was invaded by the Federal forces, but in 1865, Wilmington was captured, and in March that year General Sherman crossed the southern boundary and a battle was fought at Bentonville.

Severe troubles followed the Civil War, and the state endured a government that was financially corrupt and hopelessly inefficient. Administration was controlled by Negroes and the very worst types of local men. (Section I, Chapter XV, page 166.) Conditions bordering on anarchy prevailed, and in 1870, William Woods Holden, the governor, displayed such monumental incompetence in conjunction with a quite obsolete affection for tyranny that he was impeached by the legislature. Thereafter, conditions improved slightly, until, in 1877, the native whites of the state regained control of the government.

The first governor in the proprietary period was William Drummond, 1663, and the last Sir Richard Everard, 1729. Under the Crown, the first governor was George Burrington, and the last Josiah Martin, 1775. The first state governor was Richard Caswell, 1777.

SOUTH CAROLINA

THE early history of the province has been given under North Carolina, and its separate existence began with the proprietary period under its first governor, William Sayle, 1670. The political troubles that occurred between that date and 1700 were concerned with the refusal of the settlers to accept the Fundamental Constitutions. (Chapter III, page 26.)

After the political disputes were settled, trouble arose between the Established Church and the Dissenters ; but in 1706 the Church of England was established in the province. In 1719 the proprietors, who were quite stupidly reactionary, took upon themselves to veto a number of popular laws, and the settlers turned out the existing government, and elected their own leader, James Moore, as governor. (See page 27.) The revolution was accepted as an accomplished fact in England, and the colony then came under the Crown, and James Moore was the first governor, from 1719 to 1721.

South Carolina never lost control of its government after that, and the movement towards colonial union, which began in the seventeen-sixties, received continuous and strong support from the province. A Council of Safety, appointed by a Provincial Congress in 1775, took over the functions of government ; the Assembly was dissolved, and the governor, Lord William Campbell, decided to leave.

Many people in the state remained loyal to Britain, and during the War of Independence this occasioned great bitterness. In 1776 the British made an unsuccessful attempt to capture Charleston, but in 1780 the city was surrounded by a considerable British force, and its defender, General Benjamin Lincoln, surrendered. The British then

occupied the entire state until they were driven out by the American forces.

As a colony, South Carolina had a long tradition of stout-hearted assertion of her rights. As a state, in the thirty years preceding the Civil War, she gradually assumed leadership of the whole South, and was the champion of states' rights and free trade. She seceded from the Union on December 20th, 1860, and her secession was followed by the formation of the Confederacy. In 1865 South Carolina suffered heavily from General Sherman's March, which was accompanied by vast destruction of property.

The period immediately following the Civil War was one of great distress. Congress disfranchised most of the whites, and transferred political power to Negroes and the lowest type of native white. Corruption and incompetence were in permanent alliance, and the administration was reduced to the lowest levels of inefficiency. Only in 1877, when General Wade Hampton became governor of the state, did these conditions end.

The first governor in the proprietary period was William Sayle, 1670, and the last, Robert Johnson, 1719. The first governor under the Crown was James Moore, and the last, Lord William Campbell, although Henry Laurens was President of the Council of Safety from 1775 to 1776. The first president of the state was John Rutledge, 1776.

NEW YORK

ON September 3rd, 1609, Henry Hudson, in his ship, the *Half Moon*, entered New York Bay. He was commissioned by the Dutch East India Company; and he was looking for the North-West Passage. He returned to his employers with a report which resulted in the opening up by the Dutch of the rich

territory drained by the River Hudson. The merchants of Amsterdam and Hoorn formed the New Netherlands Company, which, armed with a three-years monopoly for the Dutch fur trade from their government, founded settlements, and the New Netherlands became a rich and flourishing colony as the seventeenth century advanced.

The first permanent colonists arrived in 1624, and established themselves on Manhattan Island, at Fort Nassau on the Delaware river, and at Hartford in Connecticut. But the principal settlement was at Fort Orange, up the river Hudson, on the site of Albany. The first Dutch Colonial Governor was Cornelis Jacobsen Mey; the first Director-General was Peter Minuit, who came to the colony in 1626. He arranged for the defence of the approaches to Manhattan Island from the Indians, and built at the lower end of the island, Fort Amsterdam, which was presently called New Amsterdam. The commerce of the Dutch colony grew. There was trouble with New England to the east; there was trouble with New Sweden to the south; and the habits and outlook of those early Dutch settlers are set forth with an agreeable flavour of caricature by Washington Irving in *Knickerbocker's History of New York, from the beginning of the world to the end of the Dutch dynasty*. Disputes with Connecticut regarding the western border were continuous; the New Englanders refused to recognize the Connecticut river as the dividing-line between the Dutch and English possessions, and by 1650 that line was pushed back into Dutch territory. (See Connecticut, page 231, and Map 3, page 18.)

In 1653 there was war between England and Holland, and the citizens of New Amsterdam, expecting that the English would attack them overland from the north, built a wall across Manhattan Island to protect the city; and the Wall Street of modern New York derives its name from this old fortification. In 1664 the Dutch province

became an English possession, and the territory from the Connecticut river to the east side of Delaware Bay, including Long Island, was renamed New York. New Jersey was separated from it (see page 253) and the original Dutch settlers were treated with sympathy and understanding by the first English governor, Richard Nicolls. Indeed, his administration compared favourably with that of Peter Stuyvesant, the last Dutch governor. English institutions were gradually adopted in the colony, and a code of laws known as "The Duke's Laws" was introduced. This code gave to the freeholders of each town a share in the government of their town by allowing them to elect a Board of eight overseers. These overseers chose a constable, and they sat as a court. Although the powers of the governor were autocratic, New York was fortunate in its governors, and they applied their powers with moderation and good sense.

In August 1673, New York was recaptured by the Dutch, and for a few months Dutch authority was recognized and the names of New Amsterdam and the New Netherlands were restored, but, by the Treaty of Westminster, February 1674, the Dutch finally relinquished all title to the province, and later in that year the English took it over. The new governor, Sir Edmund Andros, did not continue the conciliatory and tactful rule of his English predecessors; he was a man with a powerfully developed sense of his own importance, and a passion for interference. His gratification of these peculiarities caused unfortunate incidents in the history, not only of New York, but of the neighbouring colonies. After the English Revolution of 1688, and following the disappearance of Andros, who had been imprisoned in Boston, there was a minor rebellion.

A German merchant named Jacob Leisler, with the help of various officers of the militia, seized Fort James, and

for a time Leisler exercised dictatorial powers. He was more than a local leader of a revolt ; he displayed a far-sighted understanding of the danger which threatened the English colonies, and, at his instigation, delegates from Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and Maryland, met in New York City to consider some common action against the French and their Indian allies. The expedition which the colonies scraped together to cope with the danger that was threatening their borders, was a failure ; but the principle of co-operation between the colonies had been established.

Leisler was ignored by the home government, and a governor was appointed over his head. Leisler and his supporters were arrested, tried, and found guilty of treason, and were executed in 1691. The case caused a lot of trouble, and it was fought out in England as a result of the protests of the colonies, and in 1695, Parliament reversed the attainders on the property of the men who had been executed.

During the early part of the eighteenth century, the administrative powers of the province were greatly increased, and a financial scandal during Governor Cornbury's administration (1702-08) gave the colonists an excellent reason for pressing their claim to conduct their own affairs. Lord Cornbury was unable to resist embezzling the sum of £1,500 which had been allocated for fortifying the Narrows, the strait connecting Upper and Lower New York Bay. In 1706 the Assembly established their right to appoint their own Treasurer, and in 1714 the Governor gave formal assent to an Act which allowed this official to control all public money.

War with France, and with the Indians, who so often interpreted in terms of violence the wishes of the French Government, was a constant threat upon the borders of New York, and, indeed, on the western frontier of all the English colonies. An intercolonial conference called by

William Burnet, during the seventeen-twenties, met at Albany, and as a result of its deliberations, a line of trading-posts along the north and west frontiers of the English provinces was advocated; but as neither the Home nor the Colonial governments could agree, these posts were built by the French—on the wrong side of the frontier. After the Seven Years' War, the continued attempts by England to control the civic and commercial destinies of the colonies aroused constant resentment. In October 1765, the Stamp Act Congress met in New York. This body consisted of twenty-seven members, representing nine colonies, and it drew up a Declaration of Rights which was presented to the King and to the Houses of Parliament. An organization calling itself the Sons of Liberty, consisting of mechanics and artisans of New York City, gradually took control of this movement towards co-operation and independence, and when the congress had adjourned, the Sons of Liberty became violent, and did a great deal of damage during the spirited task of burning the governor and his officers in effigy. The Townshend Acts caused further outbreaks by this body, and opposition to the Mother Country drew all classes of the community into close association. New York had been ordered to furnish supplies to the British troops quartered in the city, and the Assembly refused to do this. Parliament forbade the Assembly to transact any business until the supply order had been obeyed.

Relations with the home government deteriorated rapidly, but the opposition of the colonists had not yet reached the point of making a complete break with the Mother Country. The New York Provincial Congress even refrained from instructing its delegates to the Continental Congress on the subject of a vote on the Declaration of Independence; but a newly-elected Provincial Congress gave the necessary support to the Declaration.

During the War of Independence, New York was the scene of many military operations. The British sought control of the Hudson, and Sir William Howe landed a force of British and loyalist troops on Staten Island. In August 1776, they defeated Washington at the Battle of Long Island. It was not until the winter of 1783 that the British forces finally left New York City.

The Articles of Confederation were ratified by New York in 1778. George Clinton was the first state governor, and the protection of states' rights and commercial institutions were the chief preoccupation of the state government. Obstructive and parochial, it was difficult for the young state to see beyond its own borders, and to appreciate the significance of Federation as an idea.

The shipping interests of New York expanded greatly during the early nineteenth century. The state was opposed to the War of 1812; it was realized what deep damage would be sustained by commerce. Nevertheless, when war was inevitable, New York loyally supported the Federal Government.

The slavery question was disposed of early in the nineteenth century; in 1817 an Act was passed, which within ten years abolished slavery in New York State.

During the Civil War, New York State was loyal to the Union cause, but some commercial interests in New York City favoured the South. There was a suggestion that the city, together with Long Island and Staten Island, might secede and form a Free City; but it was not widely supported.

The growth of the City of New York began with the concentration of banking and shipping interests in the City. Perhaps as a result of its mixed ancestry, its Dutch origin, and the international character of its trading, it early became a cosmopolitan city. H. G. Wells once wrote of New York: "To Europe she was America;

to America she was the gateway of the world." Cecil Chesterton, in his *History of the United States* (written in 1918), referring to the city's cosmopolitan quality, suggested that the continental air which it has may be due to the fact that "New York had no original link with the Puritanism of New England and with the North generally."

It was not until the eighteen-eighties that New York City itself became one of the architectural wonders of the world. Its enormous growth in commerce and residential housing had burst beyond the confines of the Island of Manhattan, and Brooklyn and the Bronx and the great ring of residential areas began to accommodate the vast and ever-growing population.

The state capital is not New York City, but Albany. New York City might almost be considered as a separate entity ; something which is in America, but not of America ; it belongs to the world.

NEW JERSEY

WHAT is now the State of New Jersey was once partly Swedish and partly Dutch. Settlers of both nationalities had entered the territory, but left no permanent mark upon the character of the colony. When it was acquired by England from Holland, it was named Nova Caesarea ; but this gave place to New Jersey, the name Jersey being chosen in honour of Sir George Carteret, who, with Lord John Barclay, had been granted the territory by the Duke of York. Carteret had once been Governor of the Channel Islands of Jersey. A Royal Charter had been granted to the Duke of York, and New Jersey became a proprietary province in 1665, under the governorship of Philip Carteret.

The lack of contact between the different colonies was illustrated by the fact that grants were made simultaneously by the Governor of New Jersey and the Governor of New York, approving the sale of certain Indians lands to settlers. This led to conflict of title to various tracts of country. During these disputes it was decided to include Staten Island in the province of New Jersey, on the grounds that an arm of the Hudson flowed along its western side, and the Hudson had been taken as the boundary between New York and New Jersey.

For several years disputes regarding grants of land, which affected the towns of Shrewsbury and Middleton, occupied the time of the Assembly which had been convened by Philip Carteret. In 1672, the Assembly was in a state of smouldering revolution, and selected their own president, one James Carteret of Carolina. His relationship to Sir George Carteret, the proprietor, is obscure.

Philip Carteret returned to England to consult the proprietors, who confirmed the appointment of the Deputy Governor, John Bury, and desired James Carteret to go to Carolina and stay there. The Duke of York settled the question of the grants made by Governor Nicolls to New York, by declaring them null and void; and the government confirmed this decision.

For a short time the Dutch recaptured their American colonies, but in 1674, the territories of New Jersey and New York came once more under English rule. In that year New Jersey was divided into East and West Jersey, each with their deputies representing the proprietors. William Penn had great influence in drafting the form of government for West Jersey. It was in advance of its time, and in that, it resembled the constitution of Pennsylvania. It provided religious toleration, and in this liberal atmosphere West Jersey prospered. In East Jersey there was intermittent bickering between Governor Carteret

and Sir Edmund Andros, the Governor of New York, who claimed jurisdiction over New Jersey. In 1680, Andros, who had a lust for power and a deficiency of common sense, ordered Philip Carteret and all his administrative officials to refrain from the exercise of jurisdiction unless a warrant could be produced. The Governor of East Jersey protested, and Andros, by way of reply, sent a detachment of soldiers into the colony, removed the Governor from his bed, and took him as a prisoner to New York. Andros then attempted to govern the Assembly of East Jersey, but his recommendations were not passed by the deputies, and the home government, expressing disapproval of his behaviour, recalled him.

In 1682, William Penn acquired an interest in the province, and for the next few years it remained a proprietary province, although occasionally that offensive and peculiar instrument known as the Fundamental Constitutions was flourished before the colonists, but the proprietors were never allowed to put it into operation ; and it is astonishing that any governing body could have believed that their fellow-countrymen would have tolerated such archaic nonsense. (Chapter III, page 26.)

When James II became king, he showed the same narrow determination that a later and even stupider monarch, George III, displayed. He wanted to rule absolutely. The annulment of the privileges of the American colonists was one of the first items on his list of tyrannies to be put into operation. He wanted to unite New Jersey, New York and New England under one government ; but to preserve their rights, the proprietors of East and West Jersey offered to surrender their claims to jurisdiction. The king agreed, and Sir Edmund Andros now received authority over New England, New York and East and West Jersey ; and in 1688 these provinces were combined with New England as one dominion. When news came

of the Revolution of 1688, the proprietors of East and West Jersey resumed their rights. Then, in 1692, the two colonies had a common governor, Andrew Hamilton. This unity of control improved the administrative system ; but there was much dissatisfaction, and the colonists petitioned England for direct control by the Crown ; and, in 1702, the proprietors' rights of jurisdiction were transferred to the Crown, although they retained their rights in the soil. East and West Jersey were then united, and until 1738 had the same governor as New York. After that date separate governors were appointed, the first being Lewis Morris.

During the middle years of the eighteenth century, the colony prospered ; some important educational institutions were founded, namely the College of New Jersey in 1746, which subsequently became Princeton University. Queen's College was founded twenty years later.

The last royal governor of New Jersey was William Franklin, and the last Colonial Assembly of New Jersey took place in 1775. During the War of Independence, opinions among the colonists were divided, and New Jersey contributed men, not only to Washington's army, but to the loyalists who fought side by side with the British forces. Some important battles of that war took place in the state, and a detachment of the Army of Lord Cornwallis was defeated by Washington at Princeton.

After the War of Independence, New Jersey found itself virtually at war with New York, and in that period when the idea of Federation was still nebulous, independent states behaved with all the savagery of rival foreign countries, annoying each other with obstructive tariffs and restrictions. The Constitution of the State, even after its amendment in 1777, contained some archaic relics from the colonial period, and it was not until 1844 that a new form of State Government was drafted, which conformed

to the American idea of freedom and representation. During the Civil War, New Jersey firmly supported the Union. In the decade following the Civil War, there was a commercial war in the state, on account of the monopolies granted to certain railway companies. Railway development in New Jersey had been considerable; and that development had been characterized by unrestricted individualism and lack of regard for the public interest. At last, the State Government was compelled to take a hand in the conflict, in order to force the railway corporations to pay their proper proportion of taxes; and in 1884 the state passed a law which established a precedent for the taxation of such corporations.

The first state governor was William Livingstone, 1776.

DELAWARE

PRIOR to 1664 the history of Delaware colony is Swedish and Dutch. Delaware River and Bay were explored originally on behalf of the Dutch by Henry Hudson in 1609, and a later exploration (1615-16) by Cornelius Hendrikson was largely responsible for the formation of the Dutch West India Company. A settlement was made by this company in 1631 near Lewes, but was destroyed by the Indians.

Swedish settlers, financed by the South Company of Sweden, with a charter from Gustavus Adolphus, established a settlement at Wilmington, which was named Christinaham, after the infant queen of Sweden, Christina. A new company called the New Sweden Company was formed and the Swedish governor, Johan Printz, landed in 1643 and founded settlements near the present site of Chester in Pennsylvania and at the mouth of Salem Creek, New Jersey.

There was trouble between the Dutch settlers in the New Netherlands and the Swedish newcomers, and it ended in a colonial war. Peter Stuyvesant, the governor of the New Netherlands, captured Fort Christina in 1655, and the whole area known as New Sweden passed under Dutch control.

In 1663 the Delaware territory was administered from New Amsterdam; but in 1664 the whole of this territory, together with the New Netherlands, came into English possession, and except for a short period (1673-74) when the Dutch temporarily regained control, it remained English. The territory on the Delaware became part of English North America, and was held by the Duke of York, a formal grant being issued by the King in 1683. Border disputes and the petty squabbling, which seemed an inevitable accompaniment to the settling of North America by different groups and communities, afflicted the colonists in this territory until in 1704 they secured a separate legislature, and six years later a separate executive council.

The governor of Pennsylvania remained the chief executive until 1776.

Delaware furnished a crack regiment to the American army during the War of Independence. One of its companies had as mascots a number of game-cocks, alleged to be the brood of a blue hen, so the Delaware soldiers were popularly known as the "Blue Hen's Chickens."

In 1776 a state government was formed. The delegates from Delaware were the first to ratify the Federal Constitution, 1787, at the Annapolis Convention. After the Federal Constitution was adopted Delaware was strongly federalist in sympathy.

Although Delaware was a slave state, it was against secession in 1861, and the legislature responded promptly to the President's call to arms when the Civil War began. The state was strongly represented in the Union army,

although there was much sympathy in the southern part with the confederate states.

The first Swedish governor of Delaware was Peter Minuit, 1638. The last Swedish governor was Johan Claudius Rising, 1655. The Dutch governors from that date until the English took over were the same as for New York, and the first president of the state of Delaware was John McKinley, 1776. The last president of the state was Thomas Collins, 1789, and the first governor of the state was Joshua Clayton, 1789.

PENNSYLVANIA

PLANS to establish a Quaker colony in America had been discussed for nearly thirty years before William Penn obtained his Charter from Charles II. George Fox, and other members of the Society of Friends, had been advocating the settlement of territory that would afford sanctuary from the persecution to which Quakers were subjected in England. William Penn's interest in the plan began in the sixteen-sixties, and the colony was founded after territory had been granted north of Maryland and south of New York. Originally, the Pennsylvanian territory had been partly incorporated in the New Netherlands, and the first governors were Dutch. From 1624 until 1664 the administration was Dutch. One section of the territory was under Swedish government from 1638 until 1655.

William Penn drew up a Code which governed the dealings of the colonists with the natives, and in Pennsylvania the happiest relations with the Indians were maintained, because practical expression was given to the conception of Christian dealing with one's neighbours.

All religious sects were tolerated in Pennsylvania, and

the only disputes which ever afflicted the Quaker province were concerned with boundaries, and those disputes with Maryland were not finally adjusted until the survey which was carried out a few years before the War of Independence by Mason and Dixon. (See Section I, Chapter II, page 20.)

Penn's Charter made the province a proprietary one, and William Penn was himself the supreme governor, with absolute powers to frame laws and appoint officials. The history of Pennsylvania's administration reflects the remarkable character of Penn himself. A Quaker, a man of great learning (he was made a Fellow of the newly-formed Royal Society), with an alert brain, he was naturally and, by reason of his vast interest in things of the mind, supremely well qualified to take his place among the brilliant men who surrounded Charles II—men like John Evelyn and Sir Christopher Wren and other members of the Royal Society, whose scientific speculations and attainments, and whose diversity of accomplishments, gave such distinction to the Restoration period.

After William Penn's death, his widow became the proprietor of the province. During the Seven Years' War, Pennsylvania suffered heavily from Indian attacks after the disastrous defeat of General Braddock, in 1755.

During the middle of the eighteenth century the power of the Quakers diminished, while the influence of Scottish and Irish emigrants gradually grew. The Quakers were disturbed by the fact that the proprietors had gone over to the Church of England. A strong anti-proprietary feeling developed in the colony, and the party which expressed it was led by Joseph Galloway and Benjamin Franklin. But the importance of the opposition to the proprietors shrank as the War of Independence approached.

Benjamin Franklin, who had settled at Philadelphia, represented the colonists in England as their agent.

In 1755, a volunteer militia was formed, under the command of Benjamin Franklin. In the following year work began on a chain of forts, designed to check the depredations of the Indians. Nevertheless, frontier disturbances continued until 1763.

Pennsylvania retained, throughout the eighteenth century, its reputation for toleration and its liberal outlook. The country attracted new population, and a great admixture of races took place, for there were Dutch, Swedes, Germans, Irish, Scots, Welsh and English immigrants, and every shade of Non-Conformist religious opinion.

In the War of Independence, Pennsylvania provided troops, finance and political support. The two Continental Congresses, 1774 and 1775-81, met in Philadelphia, except for a brief period when the British Army temporarily occupied that city. It was in Philadelphia that the Second Congress signed the Declaration of Independence.

During the War of Independence, many battles were fought in the territory, and Washington's army spent the winter of 1777-78 at Valley Forge. (Section I, page 52.)

Despite strong internal opposition, the State ratified the Federal Constitution in 1787, and Philadelphia was the seat of the Federal Government until it was removed to Washington in 1800.

In 1794, there was a rebellion against a Federal excise tax, which was known as the Whisky Insurrection, a revolt led by the Scots and the Irish. Another abortive rebellion, five years later, was led by John Fries, which was a protest by the German section of the community against the house tax.

More local trouble occurred late in the eighteen-thirties as a result of a disputed election. This actually caused bloodshed in Harrisburgh, and the disturbance has been called "The Buckshot War."

There was a strong anti-slavery sentiment in the state,

and during the Civil War it gave many thousands of men to the Federal forces. Some of the great Generals of the Union came from Pennsylvania: McClellan, Hancock, Meade and Reynolds. One of the decisive battles of the war, which smashed Robert E. Lee's plan to invade the North, was fought on Pennsylvanian soil at Gettysburg.

Railway development was rapid, and the state expanded industrially, and with the growth of prosperity labour troubles began. In 1877, there were serious riots in Pittsburgh and Reading among railway employees, and a terrorist organization known as the Molly Maguires controlled certain mining districts for many years, but was eventually eradicated.

There is a big German element in Pennsylvania. Some communities still speak a German dialect, known as "Pennsylvanian Dutch." The country itself is rich and lovely, rather like a large-scale England in appearance, with great agricultural tracts, and here and there flourishing and wealthy cities like Pittsburgh, with its enormous steel interests, and Philadelphia, which is a great commercial and business centre.

The first Dutch governor of the Pennsylvanian territory was Cornelis Jacobsen Mey, 1624, and the last was Peter Stuyvesant, although there were five Swedish governors between 1638 and 1655 who ruled part of the territory. Under the Duke of York, in 1664, Robert Nicolls was the first governor, and after a short interval when the Dutch reoccupied the province in 1673-74, Sir Edmund Andros became Governor from 1674 till 1681. Under the proprietors, the first governor was William Penn, 1682, and the last was John Penn, 1776. Benjamin Franklin was the first chairman of the Committee of Safety, when Pennsylvania became a state in 1776.

years of the Union, and always gave support that was calculated to strengthen the Central Government. In time this loyalty to the Union diminished, and was replaced by a policy that upheld states' rights.

A number of local disputes between Georgia and the Federal Government, regarding the disposition of the western territory, strengthened the tendency to support states' rights, and disputes about the rights of the various Indian tribes to lands adjacent to or included in the territory of Georgia, continued until 1838. As early as 1847 an ex-Governor of Georgia, Wilson Lumpkin, was advocating co-operation between the Southern States to resist the North on the question of slavery. In 1859, Governor Joseph E. Brown stated that he was in favour of an independent Confederacy, and openly advised military preparation to support this view.

Georgia's part in the Civil War was unforgettable, and General Sherman's march through the state to the sea, from Atlanta to Savannah, had never been forgotten: it was a military operation which was instrumental in shattering the power of the Confederate States.

After the Civil War, Georgia was placed under a military government, and formed part of the Third Military District of the Reconstruction Act of 1867. The reconstruction period in Georgia, although it witnessed much impoverishment and bitterness, did not become corrupt and chaotic, as in some of the other Southern States. Georgia was readmitted to the Union by Congress in July, 1870.

The first governor under the administration of the trustees was James Edward Oglethorpe, 1732, and the last, Patrick Graham, 1754. The first governor under Crown administration was John Reynolds, 1754, and the last Sir James Wright, 1760 to 1782. The first state governor was John A. Treutlen, 1777.

VERMONT

VERMONT territory was entered as early as 1609 by the French in one of their expeditions against the Indians, but over half a century elapsed before any settlement was attempted. In 1665 the French built a fort at Isle la Motte, and later in the seventeenth century the first English settlers from Albany arrived, but no permanent settlement was established until 1724, when the government of Massachusetts built Fort Dummer. The Vermont territory figured in the boundary dispute between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, but Vermont had no independent existence as a colony, although it emerged as a state in 1778, under the governorship of Thomas Chittenden. It was the first state in the Union to include in its constitution a clause for the abolition of slavery.

The history of Vermont's attempt to secure independence as a state illustrates the parochial outlook of the colonies which were in process of becoming independent. New York and New Hampshire secretly agreed to divide Vermont between them; and in 1778 as a result of this crisis the British Government offered to recognize Vermont as a separate province and proposed generous terms if she would break away from the other states. It was a temptation, which, to their lasting honour, the leaders of Vermont resisted. New Hampshire settled her differences with Vermont in 1782, the west bank of the Connecticut river being accepted as the final boundary: but New York persisted in her claims until 1790. Although Vermont was an independent state, it was not recognized by Congress, nor was it admitted into the Union until 1791. There was no settled capital until 1808, when Montpelier was chosen.

During the Civil War Vermont was attacked by Con-

federate soldiers operating from Canada. On October 19th, 1864, they crossed the frontier and raided the town of St. Albans, removing some \$200,000 from the local banks. St. Albans also figured in the attempt made by the Fenians to invade Canada in 1870, for it was their base for operations.

KENTUCKY

THE early history of Kentucky begins with the western excursions which were made periodically by explorers and settlers from Virginia. In 1750, Dr. Thomas Walker, acting as Agent and Surveyor for the Loyal Land Company, explored some of the territory, but did not proceed far; but there were other explorers, Christopher Gist, acting for the Ohio Company, and finally Daniel Boone, whose first visit was made in 1767. Harrodsburgh was the first permanent settlement made in 1774, by James Harrod. Even while the War of Independence was in progress, exploration was still proceeding; and when the War ended settlers from Virginia, Maryland and North Carolina moved into Kentucky. They began to agitate for separation from Virginia, and between 1784 and 1790, nine Conventions were held at Danville, to press this demand. At last Virginia agreed to grant it, if Congress would admit the new district into the Union as a separate state. In 1791 Congress passed a preliminary Act, and the state was admitted into the Union on June 1st, 1792. Boundary disputes with Virginia were settled in 1799 by the operation of a General Commission for agreeing a boundary line, and the southern boundary with Tennessee was settled by a similar Commission in 1820.

For some time there were frontier troubles with the

Indians and with the Spanish, the latter operating from New Orleans ; but this sporadic warfare was finally overcome by General Anthony Wayne, who defeated the Indians at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in August 1794 ; while the Louisiana Purchase of 1803 adjusted the disputes with Spain and the question of Mississippi navigation rights.

The new state, ardently supporting states' rights, was for many years anti-Federalist ; and the Kentucky Resolution of 1798 proclaimed the extreme point of view about states' rights. Notwithstanding this Resolution of state independence, the Kentucky legislature in 1797 confirmed its unequivocal attachment to the Union.

In the Civil War the sympathy of many of the people of the state was for the South ; but throughout the War allegiance was divided, and Kentucky was represented in the Confederate Congress. There were several factions in the state during the War, and afterwards. Although many people sympathized with the Union, the arming of Negro troops, the emancipation of the slaves without compensation to the owners, and federal interference in matters of local administration, fomented such harsh feeling that the state became strongly democratic in politics. Many years passed before the passions caused by the Civil War cooled, and normal state administration was restored.

The first governor of Kentucky was Isaac Shelby, 1792.

TENNESSEE

NO lasting settlement was made in Tennessee until 1769, although from the sixteenth century onwards Spanish and French explorers had visited the area, and Dr. Thomas Walker's expedition had explored part of the country in 1750. Fort Loudon was built in 1757 on the Little Tennessee river, so that the English could keep an eye on French activities in the Mississippi Valley; but in 1760 it was taken by the Indians, who massacred the garrison and all the settlers in that neighbourhood.

The territory of Tennessee was part of the westward extension of North Carolina, and after the Regulator Rebellion in 1771 (see page 243) numbers of the "Regulators" penetrated far into those unknown western lands where they had to fend for themselves against the Indians. As they were refugees from North Carolina they could hardly expect support and help from that colony, so they formed an independent government, and it was hoped that the territory might become a separate colony with its own royal governor. In 1776 the territory was annexed to North Carolina. It was called the Washington District, and the Mississippi was its western boundary. Some activity took place during the War of Independence, when Major Patrick Ferguson at the head of some Loyalist troops attempted to attack the western settlements. (Map, 8, page 68.)

In 1784 the western territory of North Carolina was ceded to the Federal Government (see page 244). Various disputes took place concerning the administration of the district, and at one time North Carolina repealed the Act of Cession; but in 1785 a new state was formed called Frankland. This name was ultimately changed to Franklin,

and for three years it existed under the governorship of John Sevier. Immigration was continuous, settlements were founded in the closing years of the eighteenth century, and an adequate system of defence against the Indians was organized.

In 1790 North Carolina again relinquished the territory to the Federal Government, and the area was now described as "Territory South of the Ohio." It was governed by William Blount, and for six years the administration had its hands full with Indian wars and checking Spanish aggression, which, however, did not reach formidable dimensions. In 1796 Tennessee was admitted to the Union as the sixteenth state.

John Sevier, the former governor of the state of Franklin, became the first state governor of Tennessee. The population increased considerably, and the development of the state was rapid and its prosperity grew.

With the approach of the Civil War a strong party in favour of the Union petitioned Congress to admit East Tennessee as a separate state. This followed a convention which met in June 1861. But Congress ignored the suggestion and Tennessee became one of the Confederate states when war broke out. It was one of the chief battle-grounds of that war, and in 1862 General Grant took Fort Henry on the Tennessee river, and General D. C. Buell occupied Nashville. By the end of 1863 practically the whole state was occupied by Federal troops.

After the war Tennessee was the first of the Confederate states to be readmitted to the Union. This was in July 1866, and consequently the state did not go through the period of reconstruction and bad government which so many of the southern states endured.

The Ku Klux Klan originated in Tennessee. (Chapter XV, page 167.)

OHIO

OHIO was originally part of the north-west territory which included Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and part of Minnesota. It was first known to Europeans in the mid-seventeenth century, and it had been penetrated here and there by the French in pursuance of their policy of placing posts west of the English settlements. It was occupied chiefly by Indian tribes, who devoted most of their time to inter-tribal wars.

The territory was claimed by various English colonies. There were clashes with the French, who made a formal claim to the whole of the upper Ohio valley. In 1749, George II granted a charter to the first Ohio Company, which was formed by Virginian and London merchants. The object of this company was to colonize the territory and exploit it commercially, and in 1750 they sent Christopher Gist to prospect and explore. (See Chapter V, page 41.) This English expedition attempted to build a fort, but they were driven away by the French, and this clash was partly responsible for the Seven Years' War in America. After that war, the whole of the north-west territory was ceded to Britain. The claims of the American colonies to parts of this territory were not recognized once it came into British possession, and by a Royal Proclamation, in 1763, the home government, expressly forbade the granting of land west of the Alleghany Mountains. Eleven years later the whole of the territory was, through the Quebec Act, joined to the province of Quebec. This restriction by Britain was one of the grievances which ended in the War of Independence. During the war, the north-west territory was secured for the United States by George Rogers Clark. (Map 8, page 68.)

After the war, a second Ohio Company was formed at Boston in 1786, with the object of creating a new state between Lake Erie and the Ohio river. A temporary governor was provided when Congress passed the North-West Ordinance in 1787; under this ordinance slavery was forbidden. The Ohio Company founded Marietta in 1788. Another settlement, in the same year, was Columbus, and in the following year Cincinnati was established. A number of colonists from Connecticut, under the leadership of Moses Cleaveland, founded Cleveland in 1796.

The first territorial government took office at Marietta in 1788, with General Arthur St. Clair as the first governor. During his period of office a conclusive war with the Indians secured the peaceful development of the territory. The Battle of Fallen Timbers, in 1794, freed the states which were growing out of the north-west territory, from further Indian depredations. (See page 266.)

Quakers from Pennsylvania, New Englanders, settlers from Virginia and Kentucky, and German, Scots and Irish immigrants, appeared in the territory after 1795, and the population rose swiftly. The territory was admitted as a state into the Union in 1803, the first state governor being Edward Tiffin.

There were disputes between Ohio and Michigan regarding the possession of Toledo; eventually this town came into Ohio, and the boundary was fixed in 1837. (See Michigan, page 288.) The capital of the state was finally established at Columbus in 1816, having previously flitted from Marietta, Cincinnati, Chillicothe and Zanesville.

During the Civil War, Ohio supported the Union, and the only military activity was an attempted invasion by a detachment of Confederate cavalry in 1863. The invaders were very roughly handled by the Federal troops at the Battle of Buffington's Island.

LOUISIANA

LOUISIANA was the name given by La Salle to the whole area of the Mississippi Valley. (Chapter II, page 16.) The name was applied eventually to the French possessions south of Canada and west of the English settlements. This gigantic tract of country with its indefinite western boundary was only settled in a loose, scattered way. In 1718 the city of New Orleans was founded, and after 1722 it was the seat of the government.

France transferred Louisiana to Spain by a secret treaty in November 1762. As this treaty was not at first made public, Spain did not take over the area until 1769, and she never effectively governed it. French influence remained, although Spanish law was introduced and Spanish was the official language. A governor of genius, Bernardo de Galvez was in charge, and he gave great assistance to the United States Government during the War of Independence. When Spain declared war against Britain Galvez captured the principal British posts in West Florida.

After the War of Independence there were disputes about navigation rights on the Mississippi; but in 1794 the river was accepted by Spain as the western boundary of the United States, and free navigation was granted to American citizens. Spanish rule ended in 1800 when Louisiana was returned to France, and in 1803 the area was bought by the United States. (Chapter VIII, page 93.)

After the Louisiana purchase the territory of Orleans was organized. This corresponded roughly to the present area of the state of Louisiana. French Louisiana originally covered the territory now occupied by the states of Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, Arkansas, Missouri, and parts of Kentucky, Indiana, and Illinois, with an enormous

westward extension reaching to Oregon in the north and to Texas in the south-west. (Map 9, page 91.)

In 1812 the first steamboat reached New Orleans, having descended the Ohio and Mississippi rivers from Pittsburgh.

In the second war with Britain the American forces won a decisive battle near New Orleans in January 1815.

During the Civil War Louisiana joined the Confederate states, and in 1862 Admiral Farragut took a fleet up the Mississippi and cleared the river for Union traffic. New Orleans was occupied by General Butler and Vicksburg and Port Hudson were captured so that the whole state came under Union control. After the war Louisiana suffered seriously from the bad government that followed the disfranchisement of the whites and the hopeless incompetence of Negro legislature. The state was readmitted to the Union in 1868.

The troubles following the Civil War continued, and a deplorable tradition of violence was preserved. In 1874 there was a pitched battle between the "White League" and the police in New Orleans, the league standing for the White Man's party. The political situation was so unstable and dangerous that Federal troops had to remain in the area until 1877, when the White Man's party took over control. Over fifty years later political and economic grievances saddled the state of Louisiana with a dictator, Huey P. Long, who was elected as governor in 1928, and entered the United States Senate in 1930. He posed as a champion of the people, attacked vested interests vigorously, and condensed a great deal of muddled thinking under the slogan of "Share our Wealth." But his dictatorial powers became too wide, and in 1935 he was assassinated at the State House, Baton Rouge.

The first governor of Louisiana under French domination was A. le Moynes, Sieur de Sauvolle, 1699; the last governor

was Philippe Aubry, 1769. The first Spanish governor was Antonio de Ulloa, 1766, and the last was Juan M. de Salcedo, 1803. (The first Spanish governor did not supersede the French governor, or take control of the province.) The first territorial governor was William C. C. Claiborne, 1803, and he was also the first state governor in 1812.

INDIANA

IT is conjectured that La Salle passed through some part of Indiana in the course of his journeys in 1669, and a French trading-post appears to have existed on the St. Joseph river at Michigan about 1672. But many of these early trading-posts were temporary and were moved as fresh country was opened up or new trading relations were established with the Indians. The date 1700 is associated with another French post which existed not far from the site of the present city of Lafayette, but the first real settlement was in 1735, and was made when a military post at Vincennes was expanded to accommodate a number of French families. The post itself was founded in 1731. This was the first white settlement in Indiana, and until the War of Independence there were no other settlements.

By the Quebec Act of 1774 all Indiana was united with Canada. Vincennes finally passed into American hands in February 1779. The first American settlement was made in 1784 at Clarksville, at the falls of the Ohio.

In 1795 a treaty was agreed between the United States and twelve Indian tribes, and a section of the south-eastern part of the present state was ceded to the United States. Claims made on the territory by Virginia and other states on the eastern seaboard were ultimately relinquished and federal control was established in 1787 over what was

known as the territory north-west of the Ohio. A governor was appointed and it was granted a representative government. In 1800 some divisions of territory took place, and the definition of boundaries occupied much time and discussion during the early years of the nineteenth century, until in 1816, after the end of the second war with Britain, Indiana was admitted to the Union as a state. Settlers had been pouring into the territory, and its population had grown considerably.

The government had operated in Vincennes, but had moved from there in 1813 to Corydon; and in 1820 a site for a capital was selected, where the city of Indianapolis now stands. It became the seat of government in 1825.

Slavery, first introduced into the territory by the French, had continued, for nearly all the first American settlers came from Virginia, Kentucky, Georgia or the Carolinas. Opposition to slavery, led by the Quakers, grew. In 1816 the state constitution pronounced against slavery and most of the slaves were liberated in consequence.

Ambitious transport systems, railways and canals were planned in the thirties and forties; and although the financial crash of 1837 interfered with those plans, Indiana got its railways, and the state grew prosperously.

In the Civil War, Indiana promptly answered the Union's appeal for volunteers. There were internal administrative troubles during the War, and within the state there were many sympathizers with the South. Indiana became a centre for an association known as the Knights of the Golden Circle, an organization that obstructed the calling up of soldiers for service, actively encouraging desertion, and in 1864 went to the length of attempting to overthrow the state government. Governor Oliver P. Morton crushed this plot and arrested the leaders and seized their munitions. (Section IV, page 357.)

In 1863 Indiana had been unsuccessfully invaded by

Confederate troops ; but other attempts at an invasion, based on the hope that fifth columnists like the Knights of the Golden Circle would make things easy for the invaders, also failed.

The first territorial governor of Indiana was Arthur St. Clair, 1787, and the last Thomas Posey, 1816. The first state governor was Jonathan Jennings, 1816.

MISSISSIPPI

THE State of Mississippi was part of Louisiana, and when French rule ended there in 1763, the territory was administered until 1781 by Britain. From 1781 to 1798 Spain had possession of the territory, but the ambiguity of Britain's treaties with Spain and the United States regarding this area caused many disputes, until, in 1798, Spain withdrew her troops, and the United States appointed a governor, Winthrop Sargent, for the territory.

Mississippi was formally admitted into the Union in 1817. The state played a considerable part in the Civil War. The Constitution of 1832 which replaced the original State Constitution of 1817, had forbidden the importation of Negro slaves from other states, but this restriction was never observed. In 1850 the state was led by Jefferson Davis, who took the extreme view regarding the pro-slavery aspect of states' rights. In 1861 the state declared for secession, and the Constitution was amended to bring it into line with the new Constitution of the Confederate States. Several battles of the Civil War were fought in Mississippi, three of them in 1863, at Port Gibson, Jackson and Vicksburg.

In 1865 regulations were enacted by the legislature which suggested to the Federal Government that attempts were

people of the Illinois country asked for a form of self-government; but General Thomas Gage rejected the suggestion, and a scheme was proposed whereby the government of Illinois was conducted exclusively by Crown officials. This scheme was never put into operation, because in 1774 the Illinois country was annexed to the province of Quebec. Most of the inhabitants of the territory were French, and in the War of Independence they were loyal to the British Government; but the American forces captured the British posts of Cahokia and Kaskaskia in 1778.

Following the treaty of Paris, 1783, the establishment of American forces in this territory was largely instrumental in securing for the United States the country west of the Alleghanies and north of the Ohio.

The boundaries of these various territories were in a fluid condition until, in 1800, the Illinois country was included in the territory of Indiana; but in 1809 the western part of Indiana became known as the territory of Illinois, with its own territorial governor, Ninian Edwards. In 1812 a territorial constitution was adopted by an Assembly which had been sanctioned by Congress, and this Assembly sent a delegate to Congress. In 1818 Illinois was admitted as a state to the Union. The first state governor was Shadrach Bond. (Map 9, page 91.)

During the War of 1812 the Indians, who had a number of grievances regarding the relinquishment of their rights to the territory, sided with the British, and in that year they attacked soldiers and settlers in the neighbourhood of Fort Dearborn, the post that in a few years became one of the biggest cities of the United States, Chicago. In 1832 the Black Hawk War began in northern Illinois and in Wisconsin, but by 1833 all Indians had been driven from the state.

In 1840 there was a great immigration of the Mormon

sect from Missouri. They established themselves in Hancock county, and in their city of Nauvoo they set up courts and a military organization of their own, which was outside the control of the state. As a result of this, a civil war broke out, which resulted in the murder of Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormon sect, and, two years later, the Mormons were removed from Illinois.

During the middle years of the nineteenth century the opposition to slavery steadily grew in the state, and when Lincoln was elected to the Presidency, Illinois was solidly behind him. Loyalty to the Union was marked in the early part of the Civil War, but as the war progressed opposition grew to the idea of continuing the struggle. A secret society, the Knights of the Golden Circle, was active, and in Chicago they organized an attempt to set free Confederate prisoners. This was known as the Camp Douglas Conspiracy, and it failed. (Section IV, page 357.)

After the Civil War, the industrial and commercial growth of the state was stupendous. Chicago became the chief business centre, and increasing prosperity was accompanied by an increasing bitterness in industrial disputes. In 1885, and again in 1894, military control had to be exercised in strikes and riots. Railways multiplied, and the whole state was opened up and became a vast mosaic of industrial and agricultural interests, active and progressive.

One of the most remarkable features in the development of the state of Illinois was the growth of Chicago. In 1804 the Federal Government established a post which they called Fort Dearborn. A little later, a settlement grew up round the fort, amounting in all to fourteen houses. In 1830 the population of the city was less than 100: within ten years it had increased to nearly 4,500. In 1870 the population was over 306,000. It became the biggest junction of railroad communications in the whole country. From Chicago, trains steamed north, south, east and west ;

its railroad links with different parts of the country were continually improved, and more trains were operated. One of the famous trains of the world, the Twentieth Century, runs between Chicago and New York.

In 1871 the city was burned to the ground, and except for some buildings on the south side, the destruction was complete. From all over the United States contributions to help the thousands of homeless people poured in, and England raised funds to the value of half a million dollars to relieve the distress. The city was rebuilt lavishly, unfortunately in a bad period of architectural taste, and Chicago derives such architectural distinction as it possesses from its modern lakeside buildings, which, tall and elegant and beautifully sited, give it the adventurous skyline which is characteristic of modern American cities.

ALABAMA

ALTHOUGH various Spanish explorers visited a few places in what became the state of Alabama, there were no permanent settlements, and the territory was included in the province of Carolina when Charles II granted the Charters of 1663 and 1665. By 1687, English traders had penetrated to the valley of the Alabama river. The French, ignoring English claims to the district, settled on the Mobile river in 1702 and built Fort Louis, which became for a time the government headquarters of Louisiana. It was abandoned in 1711, because of floods, and Fort Condé was built, from which grew the present city of Mobile.

After the treaty of Paris in 1763, England took possession of the region, the lower part of it being incorporated in West Florida. West Florida was ceded by Britain to Spain in 1783, and by the treaty of Paris part of this province

was also ceded by Britain to the United States. This fruitful subject for controversy was not settled until, in 1795, Spain relinquished her claims to the lands east of the Mississippi, between 31° and $32^{\circ} 28'$. In 1798 the United States placed this district in the Mississippi territory, but it was not until 1812, when Congress took over the Mobile district of West Florida (see Florida, page 290), that the present area of the state of Alabama came entirely under the United States. In 1819 Alabama was admitted to the Union as a state, having been governed as a territory for the previous two years.

Cotton was the chief source of wealth in the state. Alabama, which had a strong states' rights party, founded the Southern Rights Party, and she became one of the Confederate States, although there was strong opposition to actual secession. An attempt was made in the northern part of the state to organize a neutral territory, which was to be called Nickajack, but opposition to secession was withdrawn when President Lincoln called for men to preserve the Union. In 1863 Federal troops entered northern Alabama, and the following year the defences of Mobile were forced by a Federal fleet, although the city was not taken until the following year.

After the Civil War, a Black Man's party was formed, composed largely of Negroes and corrupt politicians. A great part of the white population was disfranchised, and the usual story of corruption and incompetence embittered political life for many years. Alabama did not fully recover until, in 1875, a new Constitution was adopted, and political and administrative abuses were gradually eliminated.

The first state governor was William Wyatt Bibb, 1819.

MAINE

THE province of Maine was part of the grant made in 1622 to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason and was included in the territory between the Merrimac and Kennebec rivers. In 1629 Mason and Gorges divided their possessions, Mason taking New Hampshire and Gorges the remainder of the province to the north and east of New Hampshire. Although the northern portion of this territory was claimed by the French as part of their province of Acadia, it was ultimately conveyed to the Duke of York (in 1664).

There was abundant material for boundary disputes, not only between the English and the French, but between Maine and the Puritan government of Massachusetts. While the Commonwealth governed England it was not difficult for Massachusetts to force their claims against Maine, and in 1658 it was annexed, and by 1672 Massachusetts had extended eastwards as far as Penobscot Bay.

In 1664 the grandson of the original proprietor of Maine brought his claims before Parliament, and they were decided in his favour ; but Massachusetts, land-hungry and obstinate as ever, resisted the decision until 1677, when the King in Council made a final decision against her. The government of Massachusetts then purchased from Gorges his claim and held the province of Maine as proprietor until 1691.

Maine, with an open northern frontier, was the scene of long and relentless fighting between the English and the Indians and the French. The colonists were brave and persistent soldiers who made many expeditions beyond their own borders ; but such expeditions kept them weak, and they had to rely continually upon Massachusetts for additional help.

During the War of Independence Maine suffered severely ; Falmouth (Portland) was burned in 1775. In the War of 1812 Eastport, Castine, Hampden, Bangor, and Machias were taken by the British.

Maine, which was still subject to the government of Massachusetts, revived in 1816 an old plea for independence. Separation measures were considered, and in 1820 Maine was admitted into the Union as a separate state.

The northern boundary had not yet been fixed, and, since the conclusion of the War of Independence, had been in dispute between the United States and Great Britain. The matter was ultimately submitted to arbitration, and the King of the Netherlands was chosen as arbitrator in 1829. In 1831 a decision was given against which the state of Maine protested, and there the matter was left until in 1838 and 1839 the disputed line between New Brunswick and Maine led to a border war which was described as the "Arrostock War." (See page 125.) Maine erected forts along her frontier, and Congress authorized the President to offer armed resistance to any British attempt to enforce jurisdiction over the disputed territory.

Following this flourish of armaments war seemed inevitable, but General Winfield Scott, who was sent to take command on the Maine frontier in March 1839, was a diplomat, and he arranged a truce and for the joint occupation of the disputed territory until a satisfactory settlement could be arrived at by friendly discussion between Great Britain and the United States. In 1842 the Webster-Ashburton Treaty made a compromise acceptable to both parties, but a good many loose ends were left, and an untidy array of minor disputes continued, forming what has been called the north-east boundary dispute, which was only settled in 1910.

The first state governor was William King, 1820.

MISSOURI

IN 1764 St. Louis was founded as a trading post by Pierre Laclède Liguist, agent of a company which held the monopoly of the Missouri River trade from the French Crown. When by the treaty of Paris, 1763, Louisiana east of the Mississippi was transferred to Britain, the French inhabitants left the ceded districts, and settled in Louisiana west of the great river. That part of the territory had come into Spanish possession in 1762, and under nominal Spanish rule seven years later. (See Louisiana, page 271.) French was still spoken by the inhabitants during the period of Spanish administration. When the United States acquired the area of Upper Louisiana, which included most of the present area of Missouri, there were nearly 10,000 inhabitants. Only a small proportion of these were French, for Americans had been coming in since the last decade of the eighteenth century.

From 1805 until 1820 Missouri was administered as a territory. After the War of 1812, settlers streamed in from the free states of the north, and the application for admission to the Union in 1818 was made on behalf of the greatly increased population.

This application gave rise to the "Missouri Compromise." When the bill to enable Missouri to form a state government came before the House of Representatives in 1819, an amendment was made to forbid any fresh introduction of slaves into Missouri; it also provided that the children of slave parents born in the state after its admission to the Union should automatically become free when they reached the age of twenty-five. This amendment was adopted, incorporated in the bill, and finally passed; but it was rejected by the Senate. During the next session (1819-20) the House of Representatives

again passed a bill with a similar amendment ; and now the whole question of the legalizing of slavery in new states was raised. A compromise was ultimately agreed. It was complicated, but it acted as a safety valve for the passionate feelings roused by the rights and wrongs of the slavery question.

Missouri was admitted in 1820 as a slave state, but slavery was forbidden for all time in the rest of the Louisiana purchase which lay north of the line that was the southern boundary of the new state. Missouri thus became a peninsula of slavery, pointing north. (Map 12, page 141.) This complex arrangement, which was further confused by a clause which forbade free Negroes to enter the state, illustrated how the Americans could carry the old-established English genius for compromise to new altitudes.

In 1832 Joseph Smith, the leader of the Mormon sect, settled at the mouth of the Kansas river, and he and his followers called their settlement the New Jerusalem. The new sect was unpopular, and by 1833 the Missourians decided that the Mormons were intolerable ; within five years they had been driven out, and had started on their journey westward which ended in the settlement of Utah.

Although Missouri was a slave state, there was a strong anti-slavery party, and during the Civil War, after some initial struggles and a fierce battle at St. Louis, Missouri supported the Union. But allegiance was divided, and many Missourians fought in the Confederate armies. Although the state supported the Federal Government throughout the Civil War, men were recruited for the Confederate army. Slavery was abolished for ever by the constitution of 1865.

The first territorial governor was James Wilkins, 1805, and the last William Clarke, 1820. The first state governor was Alexander McNair, 1820.

ARKANSAS

FROM 1804 to 1812 Arkansas was part of the territory of Louisiana, and from 1812 until 1819 it was included in the territory of Missouri. It was organized as an independent territory in the latter year, and in 1836 it was admitted to the Union as a state.

The development of the area was slow, and river traffic was the principal activity. Life in Arkansas in the middle years of the nineteenth century is depicted in Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*: the unfortunate practice of duelling, the deadly feuds between rival families, and the desolate, sluggish life of the small communities between the busy rivers and the wilderness that lay behind them, are vividly illustrated in its pages. To this day Arkansas is called the tooth-pick state, a name derived from the ability with which the bowie knife is wielded, for that weapon originated in the state.

Arkansas seceded from the Union after the fall of Fort Sumter, and became one of the Confederate states. There was strong Union sympathy in the north, but most of the men in the state joined the armies of the Confederacy. By 1863 rather more than half the state was under Federal control. There was a movement to reorganize the state government and to bring it back into the Union, and at a convention held early in 1864 slavery was abolished, and secession was repudiated; but this constitution was not recognized by Congress, and Arkansas was not admitted.

During 1864 there were two governments in the state, Confederate and Union, and after the war a period of corrupt government prolonged unstable conditions. Although Arkansas was readmitted to the Union in 1868 bad government continued, and an event took place early in the

eighteen-seventies which was known as the Baxter Brooks War.

In 1872 Elisha Baxter was the Republican candidate for the governorship, but he was opposed by a section of the Republican party in the state, who called themselves reformers. Their popular name in the state was "brindle tails." They were led by Joseph Brooks, and they had some support from the Democrats. Baxter's election was contested, but it was confirmed by the legislature. As a governor he displayed impartiality, and many Democrats came over to him. In 1874 Brooks attempted to organize opposition to Baxter by force, and the state legislature asked for Federal intervention. United States troops restored order in the area and a committee was appointed by Congress to investigate the troubles, with the result that Baxter was confirmed in his authority as governor, and the irregular forces raised by Brooks were disbanded.

A new state constitution was agreed in 1874 which considerably curtailed the powers of the governor. The first territorial governor was James Miller, 1819, and the last William S. Fulton, 1836. The first state governor was James S. Conway, 1836.

MICHIGAN

ALL the territory that now forms the state of Michigan was, before 1760, part of New France. The first permanent settlement was founded by Marquette in 1668, and eleven years later, La Salle built a fort at the mouth of the St. Joseph. The most important settlement was made by Cadillac in 1701, and this ultimately became the city of Detroit. After the Seven Years' War, all the Michigan trading-posts, forts and

settlements passed into English possession, but the majority of the settlers were still French, although they were now under English rule.

A great deal of mismanagement characterized the early years of English government, which was chiefly in the hands of professional soldiers whose capacity for administration was limited. Their attitude towards the natives was so lacking in sense and understanding that the Indians, led by Pontiac, Chief of the Ottawas, successfully attacked many of the English posts. Detroit resisted a siege for five months. Following the War of Independence, the United States took over the Michigan country, which was included in the north-west territory; but Great Britain retained Detroit until 1794.

The Michigan territory included not only the land between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan, but extended westwards from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi, incorporating what is now the state of Wisconsin. During the War of 1812, General William Hull, the first governor of the territory, surrendered Detroit to the British without attempting to defend it, and in that year the whole of Michigan was taken by the British. Their rule was short-lived, for Commodore Oliver H. Perry's naval victory at Lake Erie in 1813 restored Detroit and the Michigan territory to the United States. (Map 10, page 100.)

From 1813 to 1831 the territory was administered by Lewis Cass, and border disputes with the British did not develop into anything more than occasional interference. In 1818 an early steamboat, *Walk-in-the-Water*, made its appearance at Detroit: an event which might be considered as prophetic, in view of the city's subsequent development, and its vast aptitude for the production of locomotive mechanism. The Erie Canal was opened in 1825. Five years later, steamboats were running daily between Detroit and Buffalo; the population of Michigan

was increasing; the country was being developed, and everywhere business was expanding.

In 1819 the territory sent a delegate to Congress, and by 1832 the admission of the territory to the Union was being discussed. In 1835 a Convention was called at Detroit, a Constitution was created, its officers were elected, and application for admission to the Union was made. A boundary dispute with Ohio delayed the admission of the new state into the Union until 1837. This dispute between the two states was ultimately settled by Congress, and Michigan relinquished the possession of Toledo. (Ohio, page 270.)

Michigan was solidly Republican during the Civil War, and strong in its support for the Union. The first state governor was Stephens Thompson Mason, 1835.

FLORIDA

THE first explorers and settlers in Florida were Spanish, and in 1513, Juan Ponce de Leon, armed with a royal grant, set out to discover an imaginary island called Bimini which was supposed to contain a spring, which, if it was not exactly the elixir of life, was alleged to have a remarkable effect upon old men. Instead of the island and the spring, he found Florida, and, after a little exploration of the coast, he returned to Spain and received another grant, giving him authority to colonize not only the island of Bimini but the island of Florida.

It was some time before anybody realized that Florida was part of the mainland of North America. Ferdinando de Soto was one of the later explorers, and he saw more of the country than his predecessors. His visit took place in 1539-40. Though several attempts at colonization had

been made, none had been successful; following two Spanish attempts in 1559 and 1560, a Frenchman named Jean Ribaut tried to found a settlement for French Huguenots, and other French expeditions were sent during the fifteen-sixties, Ribaut's final settlement being in South Carolina. (See page 241, also Map 2, page 13.) The Spanish began to interfere with these ambitions, and their objection to French Huguenots was religious rather than national. This sanctioned the sort of ruthlessness which led to the butchery of the French garrison at Fort Caroline on September 10th, 1565. Ribaut and all his followers, who ultimately surrendered to the Spaniards, were executed. Although the French Government ignored this outrage, Ribaut was avenged by his friend, Dominique de Gourgues, who, with three ships, descended upon the Florida coast, and, with the help of the local Indians, captured the Spanish Fort San Mateo in 1568, and ceremoniously hanged all his Spanish prisoners. After this preliminary exhibition of European differences, Florida was partly settled by the Spaniards, although it received some attention from Sir Francis Drake, who attacked and almost entirely destroyed the settlement of St. Augustine in 1586. St. Augustine was founded in 1565 by Pedro Menendez de Avilés. It is the oldest permanent European settlement in North America.

The Spaniards were most unenterprising in their development of the country; only the extent of French penetration southwards to the Gulf of Mexico made them realize that France was about to separate the province of New Spain, which comprised Mexico and lower California, with an indeterminate northern boundary, and the peninsula of Florida. (Map 4, page 21.) This happened, and Spain was unable to prevent the French settling into Louisiana, which extended a considerable distance on either side of the Mississippi. There was friction, too, between Spanish

Florida and the Carolinas, and the founding of Georgia increased the tension between British and Spanish possessions. In 1702 a British force, operating from South Carolina, took St. Augustine, but was not able to capture the fort, though the town was burned. In 1706 a joint Spanish and French attack on Charleston in South Carolina was a complete failure, and the English colonists, two years later, invaded Florida, a performance which was repeated in 1722. In 1745, Oglethorpe, the governor of Georgia, threatened St. Augustine, but the Peace of 1748 prevented this colonial war from continuing. Between 1719 and 1723 the French captured and occupied the Spanish settlements in West Florida, so that Louisiana now extended from the Gulf of Mexico to the territories of New France in the north.

Florida, by the treaty of Paris, 1763, was ceded to England. Under British government the territory prospered and the colonists were contented, and nearly all of them remained loyal to Great Britain during the War of Independence. In 1779 Spain invaded West Florida, and occupied several of the English posts, and by the treaty of Paris in 1783, Florida was returned to Spain.

After the Louisiana purchase by the United States in 1803, the inhabitants of West Florida petitioned Congress for admission to the Union. As West Florida had been handed over by Spain to France in 1800, together with Louisiana, it was assumed that the district was included in the Louisiana purchase.

During the War of 1812, the United States Government requested the Spanish authorities in East Florida to allow them to occupy the country, to prevent Britain from using it as a base, and when Spain characteristically refused to entertain this request, American forces occupied Fernandina in the spring of 1812. This act was officially repudiated by the United States Government, although the troops had

acted under instructions. In 1814 British troops landed at Pensacola, and were opposed by General Andrew Jackson. The British built a fort on the Apalachicola river, and began to organize guerilla warfare, which was continued by Indians and runaway Negro slaves. This miserable warfare dragged on for years after the Peace of 1814, and in 1818 General Andrew Jackson, who held the view that Spain was inciting the Indians to continue this unofficial war, attacked and captured Pensacola. In 1819 Spain signed a treaty under which both East and West Florida were ceded to the United States. This was ratified in 1821, when the Federal Government took possession, establishing a civil administration the following year, with Andrew Jackson as the first of the territorial governors.

There had been difficulty with the Indians, and at last it was decided to transfer the Creek Indians to territory in the western part of the United States. Although treaties were agreed in 1832 and 1833 with the Indian Chiefs concerned, the transfer was violently opposed, and the enforcement of the treaty led to another Indian War, after which very few of the Indians remained in Florida. In 1845 Florida was admitted to the Union as a state.

In 1861 Florida declared for secession, and became one of the Confederate States. The Union forces captured and occupied many of the coast towns, but they were defeated in a battle at Olustee, when they attempted to invade the interior of the state in 1864. After the Civil War, Florida was made a part of the Third Military District, and, following a period of disorganization, the state again acquired full civil rights and government in 1868.

Andrew Jackson was the first of the territorial governors, and John Branch was the last. The first state governor was William D. Moseley, 1845.

TEXAS

TEXAS was originally called Tejas, after a group of native tribes known as the Tejas Indians. A few Spanish expeditions explored a little of the country during the early part of the sixteenth century, but it was not colonized until late in the seventeenth century, when La Salle established a French post at Matagorda Bay in 1685. The French made no permanent settlement, and before the end of the seventeenth century Spanish missions and settlements were founded; but it was not until 1727 that any territorial limits were defined. From that date Texas became a Spanish province.

The French in Louisiana did not attempt to extend westwards into Texan territory, and after 1763 Louisiana west of the Mississippi came under Spanish rule. In 1803, after the United States had purchased Louisiana from France, there was no buffer state between Spanish and Mexican interests, and various adventurers made unsuccessful attempts to raid Texas. (Map 9, page 91.)

In 1812 and 1813 San Antonio was actually captured by Augustus Magee and Bernardo Gutierrez, but their forces were ejected in due time by the Mexican army. James Long, who had served as an officer in the United States army, made an attempt to invade Texas, but this, too, was a half-hearted effort carried out between 1819 and 1821. In 1819 the Florida Boundary Treaty with Spain established the claims of the United States to Texas. These claims had been made ever since the Louisiana purchase. Although Spain made this agreement, as she was in the process of losing her hold upon Mexico, which was claiming independence, Texas did not pass under United States control. But immigrants from the U.S.A. settled in the territory, most of them coming from the southern states of the Union.

In 1824 Texas became one of the Federated Mexican states, and that federation stopped immigration in 1830. This led to dissatisfaction, and in 1835 the Federal Constitution was overthrown, and replaced by a short-lived dictatorship. At last a provisional government assumed power with Henry Smith as governor and James W. Robinson as lieutenant-governor. The independence of Texas was decided by war and the Mexican armies were defeated after a short campaign.

For ten years Texas was known as the Lone Star Republic, and was run by Americans, ably maintaining itself as an independent state. Its independence was recognized in 1837 by the United States, Great Britain and France. In 1845 Congress adopted a resolution allowing Texas to enter the Union, with the proviso that the Federal Government should decide all matters concerning boundaries with foreign powers.

The United States demanded that the south-west boundary of Texas should be the Rio Grande, and the result was war with Mexico in 1846. At the conclusion of the war in 1848, Mexico recognized the Rio Grande boundary, but the final adjustment of Texan boundaries was not made until 1896.

During the Civil War, Texas seceded from the Union despite a strong party that was in sympathy with the Federal Government. The last battle of the Civil War was fought on Texan soil at Palmito in May 1865.

Texas in common with most of the other southern states endured the disastrous period of reconstruction when Negro rule and low-grade politicians corrupted the administration. The state was readmitted to the Union in March 1870.

The first Spanish governor was Domingo Terán de los Rios, 1690; the first Mexican governor was Trespalacios, 1821; the last Mexican governor was Henry Smith, 1835.

The first president of the republic was David G. Burnet, 1836: the last president of the republic was Anson Jones, 1844, and the first governor of the state was James Pinckney Henderson, 1846.

IOWA

FRANCE formally took possession of the whole of the Mississippi Valley in 1682, and Iowa was thus included in the Louisiana territory. It remained as part of the district of Louisiana until that territory was purchased by the United States in 1803. From 1804-05, Iowa was under the jurisdiction of the Indiana territory; during the next seven years it was included in Louisiana, and from 1812 to 1821 it was part of the Missouri territory. Thereafter, until 1834, it did not come under the jurisdiction of any territorial government: it was unorganized, and its history is that of Michigan and Wisconsin until 1838, when the Wisconsin territory was divided. Iowa then became a separate territory with its own government.

In 1840 the territory had a population of 43,112. In 1844 a convention was called to frame a state constitution, and application for admission to the Union was made. Boundaries which were affected by the slavery question caused continuous and obstructive discussion, but Iowa eventually became a state in 1846.

The first territorial governor was Robert Lucas, 1838, and the last James Clarke, 1846. The first state governor was Ansel Briggs.

WISCONSIN

WISCONSIN is known as the Badger state, not because those creatures are found in any great quantity in the territory ; actually there are no badgers in Wisconsin. The name may have originated as a slang term for lead-miners, who came from the east and who lived in burrows in the hillsides ; but the origin of the term is conjectural.

Wisconsin was part of the western extension of New France until 1760 when it came under British control ; after the War of Independence it was ruled by the United States. The brief period of British government made practically no impression on the territory ; and when, early in the nineteenth century, the posts of Green Bay and Prairie du Chien were occupied by United States troops, the country was still, in all external things, French. So it remained until the eighteen-thirties. It was only thinly settled, and the lead regions in the south-west part of the state were worked by Indians. Many different tribes lived in the territory, and although the great streams that irrigated the country had been explored by such pioneers as Daniel Greysolon, Sieur Du Lhut, in the seventeenth century, huge tracts of country still remained in the possession of warlike natives. Almost continual Indian wars, inter-tribal conflicts, and other disturbances which involved the white settlers, leave a long red scar across the history of the French occupation of the territory. The lead-mines which had been worked by the Indians, were taken over after a treaty in 1804 ; the output was considerably increased by American miners, so that by 1820 not only thousands of miners were in the region, but Negro slaves had been brought up from the South to help in working the mines.

The fur trade, which was largely in the hands of the American Fur Company (founded by John Jacob Astor), was the chief interest in Wisconsin until the eighteenth-thirties. The territory was well stocked with game; it had been a magnificent hunting-ground for the Indians; and it was a rich and fertile country. But the lead-mining activity grew so rapidly that it became the principal interest in the region: the old Indian miners were driven out of business, and trouble began between the settlers who were pouring into the country and the Indians. After some preliminary small-scale raids, the Black Hawk War developed. Black Hawk was an Indian Chief of the Sauk and Fox tribes. He disliked Americans, and the progressive dispossession of the Indians by the advancing settlers did nothing to moderate his hostility. A treaty in 1830 which transferred the title of the lands owned by the Sauk and Fox tribes east of the Mississippi to the Government, provided the occasion for open war. Black Hawk, in the summer of 1831, began to attack villages near the borders of Illinois and Wisconsin. During that year and the following, he kept the local militia busy, and it was not until a combined army of volunteers took the field under the leadership of Colonel Henry Dodge and Colonel James D. Henry, that the Indian forces were checked. Black Hawk was finally defeated on the Mississippi, at the mouth of the Bad Axe river, by General Henry Atkinson.

This war crushed the Indian resistance in Wisconsin. Extermination or dispossession seemed to be the only alternative for the Indians as new states expanded and white settlers travelled west. (Chapter XII, page 127.)

In 1840 discussions began for the admission of Wisconsin into the Union, and the matter was pressed forward for some years, until in 1846 an Enabling Act was introduced in Congress by the territorial delegate, and received the Presidential approval. But it was not until 1848 that the

Constitution of the new state was drafted and it was admitted into the Union.

Railroads had begun to open up the state, and were pushing north and west from Chicago in Illinois, and linking Madison, Milwaukie and St. Paul.

The state was strongly anti-slavery in feeling, and in 1854 an incident occurred at Racine, when a fugitive slave named Glover was seized by the authorities, but was rescued by a mob from Milwaukie. The State Supreme Court gave a decision in the matter which nullified the fugitive slave law in Wisconsin. The state vigorously supported the Union during the Civil War.

A good many Germans settled in Wisconsin, and their hostility was aroused in 1889 when the Bennett Law was passed, which enforced the teaching of English in all public and parochial schools. This measure cost the Republicans their supremacy at the State Election in 1890, with the result that a Democrat was elected as state governor.

The first territorial governor was Henry Dodge, 1836, and the first state governor was Nelson Dewey, 1848.

CALIFORNIA

FOR nearly three hundred years the history of California is Spanish. The lower Colorado river was discovered as early as 1540, but only a few attempts were made to explore the thousand miles of Californian coastline. The place where Sir Francis Drake landed, and which he called New Albion, might have been in California or it might have been in Oregon. (Chapter I, page 12.) Before Drake reached that coast in 1579 there had only been a few attempts here and there to discover what lay to the north of the Californian gulf and the peninsula of lower California. It was assumed

that the northern lands of this west coast were a group of islands ; even during the first part of the eighteenth century the outlines of that coast were unknown ; and the relationship of the Pacific to the eastern seaboard was still conjectural. It was sometimes asserted that great arms of the sea flowed inwards, and that there might be a north-west passage linking the great lakes and streams of Canada with the Pacific Ocean. (Map 4, page 21.)

Late in the seventeenth century the Jesuits founded missions in lower California, but it was not until explorers from a vastly different country became interested in the western coast of America in the middle of the eighteenth century, that the Spanish government displayed any concern regarding upper California. Russia began to explore Alaska between 1745 and 1765, and this spurred the Spaniards to exploring activities which they had abandoned for over a century. In 1769 San Francisco Bay was discovered. Franciscan missions pushed north into upper California, and altogether twenty-one missions were established in the region between 1769 and 1823.

Those mission stations disseminated religious instruction, and little else. The natives in the district were practically slaves ; and when their Spanish masters were replaced by American settlers, there was small improvement in their condition. Spanish governors had been nominally responsible for the administration of California from 1767 until 1822, when the colony came under the nominal rule of Mexico ; Mexican governors were then appointed. In the eighteen-thirties, the Californians and the Mexicans cultivated so many differences of opinion that clashes occurred, occasionally leading to bloodshed, and gradually politics descended to anarchy. Meanwhile, American traders had settled in the territory, and although foreign trade was not countenanced by Spanish laws, such archaic regulations were consistently ignored. Russians as well as

Americans founded trading-posts and engaged in the fur trade.

The Hudson's Bay Company, in 1830, started operations in California. Gradually the control of the country passed to foreigners; the Mexicans' lassitude, their inability to organize, and their excessive love of leisure, combined to defeat any attempt to challenge the activity of the American pioneers. It became obvious that California's destiny would be removed from the idle hands of Mexico. Whether nominal Mexican rule would be replaced by active American or Russian rule was a question which President Andrew Jackson attempted to settle in 1835 by offering to purchase the northern part of California, including San Francisco Bay. Mexico refused. From 1836 onwards, Americans obtained more and more control of the country, and in 1840 a difficult situation arose over the expulsion of some American citizens and English subjects whose interest in local politics had been too expressive. Trouble was in the air, and in 1842 Commodore T. A. C. Jones of the United States Navy, under the impression that Mexico and the United States were at war, and that the British were about to seize California, planted the American flag at Monterey. A day later, finding that he had been misinformed, the flag was lowered and an apology was tendered, but it made the atmosphere even more difficult; and it also demonstrated to the United States that California could be easily taken by a comparatively small armed force. Mexico, endeavouring to stem American immigration into California, was unable to enforce any regulations because the local authorities refused to obey them.

In 1845 the American Consul at Monterey, Thomas O. Larkin, was given instructions to indicate to California that her secession from Mexico would have the benevolent approval of the United States. In the same year, Captain John C. Frémont, who was leading a government surveying

expedition, had some trouble with the Californian authorities, who were suspicious of his intentions. He was instrumental in encouraging some American settlers to occupy Sonoma by force in 1846, and for a time a nebulous state known as the Republic of the Bear came into being. To this day, California is known as the Bear Flag State, as that was the emblem on the flag which was displayed during the few days that Sonoma had an independent life as a nation. But this really absurd affair was quickly overshadowed by the action of Commodore John Drake Sloat, who, on July 7th, 1846, raised the American flag over Monterey, and announced that California was a part of the Union.

The friendly relations which had existed between the American settlers and the Californians deteriorated after the country was seized. By the treaty of 1848 Mexico ceded California to the United States, and shortly after gold was discovered in the new state; and the great Gold Rush began. The most energetic and capable people went to California; also a number of undesirable, get-rich-quick men, who were without any other particular qualification. They were the "forty-niners." Extraordinary mining communities arose; towns of the most primitive kind would grow up almost within a week, which would be abandoned perhaps a few months or a few years later. California is full of these ghost towns to-day; but for a glimpse of the life of those strange, hard-living communities, the pages of Bret Harte and Mark Twain must be sought. In *The Innocents at Home*, Mark Twain has shown the tremendous contrasts of Californian life, from the cultivated city life of San Francisco to the primitive conditions of the miners' camp-towns.

Just before the Civil War it was suggested that a Pacific Coast Republic might be formed, which could remain aloof from the struggle. This neutral republic would have a

slave-holding section and a free section, by dividing the state into upper and lower sections ; but this plan was not popular, and the state firmly supported the Union when the war came.

Gold, and presently oil, gave Californian history peculiar and special characteristics during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Oil made fresh fortunes, and increased the already considerable wealth of the state. The twentieth century saw the growth of an entirely new industry, centred in Los Angeles, which was destined to spread American ideas all over the world. The film industry was established in the early years of the century, and grew to vast dimensions after 1918.

Los Angeles to this day preserves marked traces of its Spanish origin. The Pueblo de Nuestra Señora La Reina de Los Angeles was founded in 1781. Although it is a modern American city with soaring, civic buildings, and a variety of architectural styles, it nevertheless retains a fundamental Spanish atmosphere. This too is noticeable in San Francisco, which grew from a Franciscan mission, San Francisco de Asis, founded in 1776. That great city and port suffered an appalling disaster in 1906 when an earthquake, followed by a ravaging fire, destroyed most of the buildings.

The first Spanish governor of California was Gaspar de Portolá, 1767 ; the first Mexican governor was Pablo Vicente de Sola, 1822, and the last Mexican governor was Pio Pico, 1846. Under American rule, the first military governor was John D. Sloat, 1846, and the last Bennett Riley, 1849, the first state governor being Peter H. Burnet.

MINNESOTA

EXPLORERS had visited the Minnesota territory as early as the mid-seventeenth century. French missionaries and traders were active, and Joliet and Marquette explored the upper Mississippi; and in 1679 Daniel Greysolon, Sieur Du Lhut, reached the western shores of Lake Superior.

From the beginning of the eighteenth century to the end of French rule in America, trading posts and forts were established, but none of them were permanent, and the Indians remained in undisturbed possession. In 1784 part of Minnesota was included in the North-West Territory, although the British held nominal possession of the area until 1796. Spain controlled the western part of the territory until 1803, but in that year it was retransferred to France, thus becoming part of the Louisiana purchase. (Chapter VIII, page 93.)

An expedition led by Zebulon N. Pike in 1805-06, penetrated to the north of the territory and reached Leech Lake. Pike formally took possession of the Minnesota area in the name of the United States. In 1819 a military post was established at the junction of the Minnesota and Mississippi rivers. This was called Fort St. Anthony, but was renamed Fort Snelling in 1824. Other expeditions were organized to explore the territory in the early nineteenth century, and settlers gradually entered the country and pushed westwards.

When Wisconsin was organized as a territory in 1836 it included the whole of Minnesota; and two years later, when Iowa became a territory, Minnesota west of the Mississippi was included in Iowa territory. It was not until 1849 that Minnesota became a territory with its own government and defined boundaries. The most remark-

able increase in population then took place. In 1850 the population stood at 6,000; in 1857 it had increased to 150,000, for the movement to settle the new lands west of the Mississippi was comparable in its extent and intensity to a gold rush. In 1857 a Convention was formed to draft a state constitution, and the state was admitted to the Union with its present boundaries in 1858.

Minnesota gave many men to the Federal armies during the Civil War. For several years the state was constantly at war with the Indians, but these troubles ended after General Alfred Sully's decisive defeat of the Indian forces in 1864. (See North Dakota, page 314.) As late as 1898 Indian savagery was rekindled, and a raiding band of Chippewas had to be dealt with by Federal troops.

The first territorial governor was Alexander Ramsey, 1849, and the last Samuel Medary, 1858. The first state governor was Henry Hastings Sibley, 1858.

OREGON

IN 1597 Sir Francis Drake took possession of part of the country on the Oregon coast in the name of Queen Elizabeth, and gave it the name of New Albion. Spanish explorers and navigators touched on the coast occasionally, but no settlements were made, and it was not until the second half of the eighteenth century that any systematic exploration of the Oregon coast is recorded. In 1774, Juan Perez sailed up to 54° N. Lat. The westward end of the North-West Passage had been sought by several voyagers, but few penetrated farther north than Oregon. Maps, even in the late eighteenth century, dismissed those regions in the stimulating phrase: "These parts are intirely unknown." No attempt was made by

the Spaniards to colonize this north-western area ; and it was left to the British fur companies to conduct exploration in their search for new trade routes. Captain James Cook visited the coast of Oregon early in 1778.

In 1792 Captain Robert Grey, who was in the employ of the merchants of Boston, discovered the Columbia river ; and his discovery substantiated a claim by the United States to the area drained by that river. Early in the nineteenth century there were disputes between Britain, the United States and Spain concerning the whole territory, but by a Treaty in 1819, Spain relinquished to the United States all the territory north of the 42nd parallel.

In 1805 and 1806, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark travelled west of the Rocky Mountains, and reached the Pacific Ocean by following the Columbia river : this expedition was sponsored by President Jefferson.

After the War of 1812, the Treaty of Ghent, 1814, raised a fruitful subject of dispute regarding the north-west boundary between American and British territory. This was called "The Oregon Question," and for a considerable time it was a perilously dangerous question, and at one period nearly provoked another war between the two countries. Early in the eighteen-twenties Russia attempted to establish a claim to all lands north of the 51st parallel ; and this claim temporarily reconciled Britain and the United States, who jointly protested. In 1824, Russia and the United States concluded a treaty, whereby Russia agreed to make no settlements south of 54° 40'.

In 1827 an agreement, which had been reached in 1818 between Britain and the United States regarding the joint occupation of certain portions of the territory, was renewed, but with the provision that it might be abandoned by either party at a year's notice.

The next phase in the history of Oregon is really the history of the Hudson's Bay Company and their monopoly

of the fur trade, and their relations with American immigrants. The policy of the Company was to keep the territory as a gigantic game preserve and to discourage settlers. In 1824, the Company appointed a governor, Dr. John McLoughlin, who was in office for twenty-two years, and whose administration was admirably efficient. In 1824-25 he established Fort Vancouver on the north bank of the Columbia river: in 1829 he founded the settlement of Oregon City. His policy was to encourage settlers, and although this was contrary to the policy of the Company, he appears to have had his way, and the causes for friction between America and Britain were thereby removed. But in 1841, the Americans who had settled in Oregon desired some form of civil administration, and as the Hudson's Bay Company was the only visible form of government, it did not satisfy the aspirations of the new, civic consciousness which had arisen among the settlers. A governing body with an executive committee was formed, but in 1845 this committee was abolished, and a governor was appointed. This provisional government incorporated various articles from the Ordinance of 1787, and included the prohibition of slavery. There was trouble with the non-American population, and particularly with the missionaries; American immigrants began to flood the territory, and a serious situation was created, because the Hudson's Bay Company, with its autocratic outlook, was perhaps too reminiscent of the old proprietary boards of the American colonies, to suit the ideas of American citizens whose fathers had fought in the War of Independence. But, in 1845, the provisional government wanted to extend its power north of the Columbia river; and a compromise was arranged with the Company, under which their officials and employees and all British residents became subject to the government.

Other states in the west were now agitating for a definite

settlement of the Oregon Question, and the Democratic National Confederation of 1844 declared that the title of the United States to the whole of the Oregon territory was indisputable; the Democratic party coined an election campaign slogan based on the disputed line of demarcation between British and American possessions, namely, the line $54^{\circ} 40'$. "Fifty-four forty, or fight" was the slogan which carried the Democrats successfully through the election, and President Polk took occasion, in his inaugural address, to assert that the claims of the United States to all the Oregon territory must be recognized. War was very near; but saner methods were adopted, and a treaty, drafted jointly by James Buchanan, the American Secretary of State, and Richard Pakenham, the British Envoy, was submitted to the United States Senate. By this treaty, the northern boundary of Oregon was fixed at the 49th parallel. (See Map 9, page 91, and Map 11, page 131.)

The adoption of a territorial government for Oregon was immediately advocated by the President, but its formation was disputed in the Senate by the Southern leaders, who objected to the constitutional prohibition of slavery in any territory belonging to the United States. The dispute was settled by the urgent need for defending the territory from the Indian outbreak which began in 1847. In 1848 a Bill was passed, sanctioning a territorial government. In 1856 the inhabitants of the territory voted for recognition as a state, and in 1859 Oregon was admitted into the Union.

The state supported the Union during the Civil War.

Trouble with the Indians continued for many years, and two conflicts developed into minor wars, namely, the Shoshone War, 1866-68, and the Modoc War, 1864-73. The governor during the provisional government was George Abernethy, 1845-49, and the first governor of the territorial government was Joseph Lane, 1849-50, and the

last George Law Curry, 1854-59. The first state governor was John Whiteaker, 1859.

KANSAS

FRANCISCO D. CORONADO was the first European to visit the Kansas district, in 1541; but the territory remained undeveloped and unsettled until early in the eighteenth century, when there was a brief period of occupation by the French from 1719 to 1725. The whole area remained in the hands of the Indians until, as part of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, it passed under the control of the United States.

For many years Kansas was unexplored, and it was thought that it consisted mostly of desert; but overland immigration to Colorado, Utah and California gradually opened up the district. Before 1854 there were very few white settlers; a mere handful living here and there among the Indians, and mostly engaged in missionary work. But in 1852 Congress was asked to create a territorial government, and in 1854 the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was passed.

Long and stormy disputes followed, regarding the right to hold slaves in this territory. The Missouri Compromise had specifically prohibited slavery in the Louisiana purchase north of 36° 30', with the exception of Missouri. This struggle was a forecast in miniature of the Civil War, and the slave-holding states of the South lost Kansas. The enterprise of immigrants from the North really decided the question, and their settlement was facilitated by the New England Emigrant Aid Company. The South made little attempt to settle in the territory.

But at the first election of a delegate to Congress, armed men from Missouri invaded Kansas, and tampered with the ballot-boxes, a fraud which was repeated in a much

bigger way at a subsequent election of a territorial legislature in 1855. This legislature, elected by fraud and force, adopted the laws of Missouri, which suppressed rigorously any criticism of the institution of slavery, and made pro-slavery views a qualification for office. The death penalty was adopted for anyone aiding a slave to escape. The result was a small-scale civil war, for the anti-slavery men in the state imported arms, and there were many collisions, and the enactments of the fraudulent legislature were ignored. The Federal Government had troops in the territory, but a dangerous situation was created. (Chapter XIII, page 139.)

Throughout the fifties these unsettled political conditions disfigured the life and development of the state. John Brown's abortive revolution increased the general tendency towards lawlessness and outrage. The turmoil continued until the Civil War finally settled the whole question of slave and free states. The War itself was preceded by drought and famine in 1860, and consequent impoverishment. Meanwhile, Kansas and Missouri were engaged in guerilla warfare.

The state had an unfortunate tradition of violence. In the eighteen-eighties there was bloodshed, and the fighting, particularly in the western counties, was so serious that it had to be frequently repressed by the state militia.

The first territorial governor was Andrew H. Reeder, 1854, and the first state governor was Charles Robinson, 1861.

Kansas is known as the Sunflower state.

WEST VIRGINIA

WEST VIRGINIA did not become a completely independent state with its own governor until 1863, and its early history is that of the Virginian Colony. For more than half a century it was the unknown western boundary of Virginia, and here and there exploring expeditions opened up new country. In 1671, General Abram Wood sent an expedition which discovered Kanawha Falls : early in the eighteenth century Governor Alexander Spotswoode penetrated to what is now known as Pendleton County. German settlers late in the seventeen-twenties seeped in from Pennsylvania. The westward expansion of Virginia was gradual, and the new settlements were always in danger of destruction from the Indians, who, encouraged by the French, constantly raided this partly-explored territory. In 1774, the Governor of Virginia and a body of militia under General Andrew Lewis, finally smashed the Shawnee Indians at Point Pleasant ; and although this lessened the menace to the settlers, Indian raids continued even after the War of Independence.

The population of western Virginia was mixed, including Germans from Pennsylvania, Protestant Scots, Irish, and settlers from New York and the New England states. During the War of Independence there was an attempt to form a state called West Sylvania, and a petition was presented to Congress : this state would have been beyond the Alleghanies, separated from Virginia by that mountain range. But the counties beyond the Alleghanies still remained under the jurisdiction of Virginia. It was not until 1861 that the first Wheeling Convention met, consisting of delegates from 25 counties, many of whom desired the immediate creation of a new state ; but dis-

cussions continued, and in the year following the government formally consented to the formation of a new state. An application for admission to the Union was made to Congress, and on December 31st, 1862, President Lincoln approved an Enabling Act whereby West Virginia was admitted to the Union, on condition that the gradual abolition of slavery became part of the state constitution.

For some years disputes continued with Virginia, regarding the incorporation of certain counties in the new state, and there were disputes also about West Virginia's responsibility for assuming part of Virginia's debts. These disputes continued until 1906, when Virginia entered suit in the Supreme Court, to compel West Virginia to assume part of the debt. West Virginia protested, but the protest was overruled, and the matter was finally settled in 1908.

The first governor of West Virginia was Arthur I. Boreman, 1863.

NEVADA

ORIGINALLY Nevada was known as the Washoe Country, and was part of California until 1850, when the area was included in the territory of Utah. The first settlement was established in the valley of the Carson river in 1849. In 1851 a movement was started to obtain separate territorial rights, independent of Utah, and in 1854 the county of Carson was created by the Utah legislature. But the settlers in Carson County wanted to cut their connection with Utah, and petitioned Congress to be included in Californian territory. In 1859 the inhabitants chose delegates for a constitutional convention, and the same year a constitution was drafted. But it was not until 1861 that the territory of Utah was split up, and the western section was organized as a territory

under the name of Nevada. In 1864 Congress passed an act allowing the inhabitants of Nevada to form a state government, and on October 31st of that year Nevada became a state.

The territory was rich in gold, and the state grew with the development of its mines. In 1873 the Great Bonanza Mine was discovered.

It was from Nevada that the Silver party arose, which advocated the free and unrestricted coinage of silver.

The first territorial governor was James W. Nye, 1861-64. The first state governor was H. G. Blasdel, 1865.

NEBRASKA

NEBRASKA was included in the Louisiana purchase in 1803, but trading posts had been established several years earlier. In 1807 a trading post was founded near Fort Calhoun, and in 1812 another was established at Bellevue. In 1825 an Indian post was established on the site of the present city of Omaha, and in 1846 the Mormons in their journey westwards halted for a time, and called their settlement "Winter Quarters." (See Utah, page 319.) Slowly the area was settled. It was on the route to the west, and pioneers on their way to Oregon, California and Utah travelled through Nebraska. The Mormons moved on, and their settlement of Winter Quarters was renamed Florence.

Attempts were made between 1844 and 1854 to organize a new territory, but it was not until the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854 that Nebraska became a territory. There were slaves in the territory, but there was a strong anti-slavery movement, and in 1861 slavery was excluded by law. John Brown spent much time in the south-east part of Nebraska helping to smuggle slaves from Kansas

through Nebraska to the free states. (See Chapter XIII, page 139.) During the Civil War Nebraska was on the Union side.

Originally Nebraska extended northwards through the Dakota areas to Canada and westwards to the Rockies; but in 1861 and 1863 its present boundaries were defined.

The Oregon trail, the old Californian trail and the Salt Lake trail crossed Nebraska, and along these highways in the 'forties, 'fifties and 'sixties traffic flowed westwards continuously. That traffic was ended by the Union Pacific railroad which was built across the territory between 1863 and 1867.

Nebraska became a state in 1867. The first territorial governor was Francis Burt and the last Alvin Saunders. The first state governor was David Butler, 1867.

COLORADO

PART of Colorado was included in the Louisiana purchase, and in 1845 the southern section of the territory came under American control as part of Texas. Gold was discovered in 1858 not far from Denver. It was not until the early eighteen-sixties that immigration began on a big scale, and in 1861 a territorial government was organized in the area. Before that Colorado had been part of the Kansas territory, although between 1858 and 1861 it had a separate existence as the territory of Jefferson.

During the Civil War Colorado was on the side of the Union, but there was an attempt on the part of some Texan troops to occupy the territory on behalf of the Confederate states. In 1862 this Texan force was defeated by Colorado troops. The territory was afflicted with Indian troubles from 1864 to 1870.

Colorado was admitted to the Union as a state in 1876. The first territorial governor was W. Gilpin, 1871, and the last J. L. Routt, who was also the first state governor, 1875.

WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON was not admitted to the Union as a state until 1889. It is the most north-westerly state. Its early history is the same as that of Oregon. (See page 303.)

In 1853 a great increase in the number of settlers north of the Columbia river was the chief reason for establishing the Washington territory. The first governor was a soldier of the United States army, Major Isaac I. Stevens; he had many opportunities for the exercise of his professional talents, because the Indians made persistent efforts to arrest the development of the territory by the white settlers, as this implied the annulment of Indian rights to land. A four years' war (1855-59) of a desultory but bitter kind ensued, and the Indian power was crippled.

In 1859 there was a border dispute with Great Britain concerning the title to the Haro Archipelago, east of Vancouver Island. The largest island of this group, San Juan, was occupied by a United States force, and tension grew until both countries agreed jointly to occupy San Juan. This joint occupation continued until the treaty of Washington in 1871, when the German Emperor acted as arbitrator in the matter, and decided in 1872 in favour of the United States.

Originally Washington included parts of what are now the states of Idaho and Wyoming. Gold was discovered in the territory which caused great dislocation of population, and in 1863 Idaho was separated from Washington. The population increased considerably in the eighteen-

eighties, following the completion of the Northern Pacific Railroad.

The last territorial governor was Miles C. Moore. The first state governor was Elisha P. Ferry.

NORTH DAKOTA

IN 1812 some Scottish Highlanders left the Canadian settlement of Winnipeg and travelled south into what they thought was British territory. Actually they had crossed the northern border of what is now the state of North Dakota, and there they founded a colony which they named Fort Daer. The territory in which they settled was the extreme northern part of the area included in the Louisiana purchase of 1803, and in 1812 it was known to the United States Government as the Missouri territory. (See Missouri, page 283.)

By 1823 there was quite a flourishing community at Fort Daer, which eventually became the city of Pembina. In 1834 the Missouri territory was split up, and the eastern section of it became Wisconsin and Illinois. (See pages 295 and 276.)

Until 1861 the history of Dakota is that of Iowa and Minnesota and Nebraska: and that part of it west of the Missouri was known as the Mandan territory. From 1858 to 1861, the district between the Red and the Missouri rivers was administered by a provisional government, and then the territory of Dakota was organized. It was named after the Dakota Indians, and at first it included certain sections of Wyoming and Montana. (See pages 318 and 316.) The final adjustments of both North and South Dakota were made in 1863.

The development of the territory was interrupted by the Civil War, and in 1862 the Indians rose and went

on the warpath in earnest, ravaging the borders of Minnesota and Dakota. At the battle of White Stone Hills on September 3rd, 1863, General Alfred Sully with a force of 1200 United States troops smashed a much larger force of Sioux. The following year the Sioux were defeated at Takaakwta on the Knife River, although guerilla warfare continued until 1865.

The Northern Pacific Railroad entered the Dakota territory in 1872. The population increased, and development was swift and extensive. In 1887 the territory was divided into two parts, and the division was approved by the people.

In 1889 North Dakota was admitted to the Union. The first territorial governor for the whole Dakota territory was William Jayne, 1861, and the last Arthur C. Mellette, 1889. In that year he became the first state governor of South Dakota. The first state governor of North Dakota was John Miller.

SOUTH DAKOTA

THE earliest known exploration of the southern part of the Dakota territory was carried out by Meriwether Lewis (1804-06) in the expedition which ascended to the head waters of the Missouri. Lewis, who had been President Jefferson's private secretary, conducted this expedition with the full support of the Government, and it was organized with the assistance of the War Department. He was accompanied by William Clark; they went up the Missouri in three boats, and camped near the site of Bismarck in North Dakota. Many years elapsed before other systematic explorations took place. In 1832 part of the territory was explored by Prince Maximilian of Neuwied, and in 1843 Edward Harris and John J. Audubon visited the territory.

A settlement was founded in 1856 at Sioux Falls, but it was abandoned in 1862. South Dakota had no individual existence as a territory : it had been included in the Dakota territory. It was admitted to the Union as a state in 1889, the first state governor, Arthur C. Mellette, being the last governor of the Dakota territory.

MONTANA

UNTIL gold was discovered in the Montana district between 1862 and 1864, little settlement or development of any kind had taken place ; but the gold rush which started in earnest in 1863 created so much lawlessness that for a time the country was run entirely by a Vigilance Committee. To complicate the prevailing anarchy, the Indians were ferociously obstructive, and made war not only on the gold hunters, but on all white settlers.

Montana was organized as a territory in 1864. It was originally part of the Washington territory, and its early history is that of Washington and Oregon. (See pages 313 and 303.) In 1877 the Indian war, which began in Idaho, ended in Montana territory, for the Indians retreated before the United States troops and were ultimately overwhelmed, and surrendered in the Bear Paw Mountains.

Montana was admitted as a state in 1889. The first territorial governor was Sidney Edgerton, 1864, and the last was Benjamin F. White, 1889. The first state governor was Joseph Kemp Toole.

IDAHO

WHAT is now the state of Idaho was included in the territory of Oregon from 1848 to 1853. From that year until 1859, the south part of the state belonged to Oregon, and the north part to the Washington territory ; and it was not until 1863 that the territory of Idaho was defined. Until 1864 it included Montana, and until 1868 a part of Wyoming was also included, but after that date the present borders of the state were established.

Early in the nineteenth century explorations were made in the territory, and the Missouri Fur Company established a trading-post at Fort Henry on the Snake river in 1810. In 1834 Fort Hall was founded, and it became a meeting-place for a number of the trails that led to the western parts of the continent. But it was not until 1860 that permanent settlements were made, when the exploitation of mineral wealth began. Gold was found, and this started the usual rush of gold-seekers, and the population grew rapidly. In 1863 Idaho was organized as a territory, and in the following year Montana to the north was separated, and in 1868 Wyoming to the east was also organized as a separate territory.

There was war with the Indians in 1856 and 1857 ; and twenty years later another Indian war broke out, following the refusal of certain Indians to live on the reservation which had been allotted to them. This was the last trouble with the original natives.

In 1890 Idaho was admitted into the Union as a state.

The first territorial governor was William H. Wallace, 1863, and the last territorial governor and the first state governor was George Shoup, 1890.

WYOMING

WYOMING was organized as a territory in 1869. Before that it had been part of the territory of Utah, Washington and Dakota. The growth of the population and the development of the area coincided with the gold rush of the early 'sixties, and the western drive of the Union Pacific Railroad. In the winter of 1867 the first train steamed into the territory. During the eighteen-seventies Indian troubles and banditry afflicted large districts; but the bandits were dealt with and gave little trouble after 1879, and the Indians were also subdued and finally settled on their reservations.

The north-west corner of the state is occupied by the Yellowstone National Park.

Wyoming was admitted to the Union as a state in 1890. The first territorial governor was John A. Campbell, 1869. The last territorial governor and the first state governor was Francis E. Warren, 1890.

UTAH

IN 1540 a Spanish explorer, Garcia Lopez de Cardenas, may have reached a point on the Colorado river which is now included in the state of Utah; but this is not certain. Two hundred and thirty-six years elapsed before any other explorers reached the territory, but in 1776 two Franciscan friars, Francisco Atanasio Dominguez and Silvester Velez de Escalante, left Santa Fé to see if it were possible to find a direct route to Monterey on the Californian coast. They reached Utah Lake in the course of their travels. Forty-eight years passed before any further discoveries were made in the district, but

between 1824 and 1825 a trader named James Bridger discovered the Great Salt Lake, when he was trying to trace the source of the Bear river. In 1825 William H. Ashley of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company led an expedition from St. Louis, and built a fort on Lake Utah. The Great Salt Lake was explored in 1843 by John C. Frémont, with Kit Carson. Four years later the Great Salt Lake valley was reached by Brigham Young with about one hundred and fifty Mormon followers.

The early history of Utah is really the history of the development of the Mormon sect, or the Latter-Day Saints, as they were called. This sect was founded by Joseph Smith at Manchester, New York, in 1830, and it became a large and growing community after 1848, when considerable western territory, which included Utah, had been ceded to the United States by Mexico. The Mormons called their state Deseret, which, according to the Book of Mormon, meant "The Land of the Working Bee." Salt Lake City, before the end of 1848, had a population of about 5,000, but it was not until the gold rush to California that the city became prosperous; by 1850 it was recognized as a station for emigrants, where they could buy equipment and provisions for journeying on to the gold-diggings of Nevada and California.

Brigham Young was elected governor of the state of Deseret, and a delegate was sent to Congress, asking for admission into the Union as a state or as a territory. Utah was admitted as a territory in 1850, with Brigham Young as the territorial governor. The peculiarities of the Mormon creed included not only toleration of polygamy, but active advocacy of the practice, and the Mormon leaders exercised over their flocks a most exacting and detailed discipline. Hostility to the Mormon Church was punished severely, occasionally by death; and a band of Mormons who styled themselves "Wolf-hunters" set

about the business of extirpating heresy with such sanguinary gusto that the Federal Government had to interfere in the internal organization of the state. In 1857 President Buchanan was compelled to send troops to Utah, and Brigham Young issued a proclamation urging the faithful to defend the territory from the Federal forces, and declaring a state of martial law. A collision occurred between the Mormon forces and the Federals; and after some supply trains had been destroyed the Federal troops occupied some strategic positions. Early in 1858 the Mormons formally agreed to recognize Federal authority. In the summer of that year a Peace Commission was sent to Utah, and two years later practically all the Federal troops were withdrawn from the territory.

At the beginning of the Civil War the Mormons were suspected of sympathy with the Confederate States, and as a precautionary measure, Union troops were quartered in Salt Lake City. By the end of the Civil War, the Mormon Church modified its hostility to the Union, particularly when it became perfectly clear that the Confederacy was doomed.

Brigham Young died in Salt Lake City in 1877, leaving a fortune of \$2,000,000, twenty-five wives and over forty children. The population of Salt Lake City had, of course, considerably increased above its original 5,000. Young was a practising dictator, an able leader, and to his energy and determination, as well as to his utter ruthlessness, can be attributed the rapid development of Utah as a prosperous state.

Before and after the Civil War, Utah was afflicted with Indian troubles, and in 1865 an Indian War started under the leadership of Black Hawk, which lasted for two years. It was ultimately settled by transferring some of the Utah native tribes to a reservation in the Unita Valley.

In 1896 Utah ceased to be a territory, and became a state,

the first state governor being Heber M. Wells. The original size of the state had shrunk, because at first the Deseret territory had included not only the present area of Utah, but Arizona, Nevada, and large parts of New Mexico, Colorado, Wyoming and California.

OKLAHOMA

IN 1834 Congress reserved the area now occupied by the state of Oklahoma as the Indian territory. It was handed over to certain tribes, who occupied the territory until the Civil War. The Indians were slave owners, and they had brought slaves from the southern states when they moved into the territory following various treaties made with the United States Government regarding the possession of the area. The Indian territory during the Civil War supported the Confederate states, and at the end of the war the Federal Government insisted on the liberation of all slaves in the territory and also required new treaties to be made.

Great areas of the territory, which were not allocated to any Indian tribe, remained unsettled, and in 1889 a large tract in the centre was bought by the government from the Creeks and Seminoles. When the purchase was completed the President issued a proclamation which stated that this land would be available for homestead settlements at twelve noon on April 22nd, 1889. Settlers, amounting to 20,000 in all, lined up on the borders of the territory awaiting the signal to stake out claims in the land, and the process of settlement which was normally spread over years was compressed into a few days.

Oklahoma was now organized as a territory. There were difficulties with the Indians, and until Congress appointed a commission in 1893 there was friction which

might have ended in violence; but peaceful methods of adjusting the rights of the Indians and the claims of the white settlers were adopted. In 1907 Oklahoma was admitted to the Union as a state.

The first territorial governor was George W. Steele, 1890, and the last Frank Frantz, 1906. The first state governor was Charles Nathaniel Haskell.

NEW MEXICO

NEW MEXICO was originally in the northern part of the province of New Spain. It includes the second oldest city in the United States, Santa Fé, which was founded in 1598, and has been continuously occupied ever since. The history of the territory is comparatively uneventful until after the Mexican War of Independence (1811-21). Until 1824 New Mexico was a province of the new republic of Mexico. A little later it became a territory, but there were only minor changes in its administration and the life of the country was unchanged.

In 1846 when the Mexican War began the United States acquired New Mexico and California and established temporary governments there; from 1846 to 1851 military governors were appointed for New Mexico, the first being Charles Bent, who was assassinated in 1847 during an insurrection. This rebellion was quickly checked and another military governor was appointed; but the inhabitants did not take kindly to military governors and petitioned Congress for a civil administration. In 1848 New Mexico was ceded to the United States under the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. Originally the territory included most of Arizona and the southern section of Colorado.

In 1850 a convention met at Santa Fé and a state constitution was drafted. After persistent official obstruction a territorial government was finally approved by Congress in December 1850. The constitution prohibited slavery.

During the Civil War New Mexico was loyal to the Union. The Confederate forces invaded the territory in February 1862, and occupied Albuquerque and Santa Fé; but Union troops compelled the Confederates to retreat to Texas.

Indian raids had been a constant source of trouble, and in 1863 a short and successful war against the Indians was conducted by General James H. Carleton. This put an end to the Indian troubles for a time, although there were outbreaks as late as 1880 and 1886.

When the Civil War was over many applications were made for the admission of New Mexico into the Union, but it was not until 1910 that the President approved an enabling act which admitted New Mexico and Arizona as separate states. In 1912 New Mexico became the forty-seventh state of the Union.

The first Mexican governor of New Mexico was Francisco Javier Chavez, 1822, and the last was Juan Bautista Vigil y Alarid, 1846. The first military governor was Charles Bent, 1846, and the last John Munroe, 1851. The first governor by presidential appointment was James S. Calhoun, 1851, and the last territorial governor was William J. Mills, 1912. The first state governor was W. C. McDonald, 1912.

ARIZONA

ARIZONA was not organized as a territory until 1863. Before that date it had been included in the territory of New Mexico. (See page 322.) For some time a movement had existed in the Arizona counties of New Mexico for independent administrative powers. Early in the Civil War these counties were occupied by a Texan force; they attempted to join the Confederacy, and then elected a delegate to the Confederate Congress, who was not, however, allowed to sit. In 1862 the Texans were chased out of the Arizona district by Federal troops from California.

For the first few years of Arizona's existence as an independent territory there were Indian wars, and a rough and rather lawless population occupied the area. Prospectors, adventurers of all kinds, cowboys and professional desperadoes repeated on a smaller scale the history of the gold-rush years in California and Nevada. But after 1880 conditions were stabilized and a settled population began to enjoy a growing prosperity.

In 1912 Arizona became the forty-eighth state of the Union. The last territorial governor was Richard E. Sloan, and the first state governor was George W. P. Hunt.

NOTE ON THE DISTRICT OF
COLUMBIA

THE District of Columbia is a Federal Area immediately surrounding Washington, the capital of the United States. It is not a state, and it is administered by a board of commissioners. Residents in the area do not vote in Presidential elections. Congress and the board of commissioners legislate for the district.

ALASKA

THE district occupying the extreme north-west part of North America was once called Russian America. It was purchased from Russia by the United States in 1867 for the sum of \$7,200,000. The boundary of this northern district was the subject of litigation between the United States and Canada, which was settled by an international tribunal in London in 1903. Alaska is empowered to elect a delegate to Congress, and the administration of the district lies with various executive departments. There is a resident governor.

SECTION III. THE POLITICAL PARTIES, THE PRESIDENTS AND REPRESENTATION

POLITICAL PARTIES AND PRESIDENTS

THE two principal political parties in the United States are Republican and Democratic. Occasionally a third party has emerged, identified with some particular cause or leader, such as the so-called Progressive party, which Theodore Roosevelt led in 1912. The two chief parties have grown up from rather confused origins. The reasons for their birth were clear and bright in the days of the young Republic which was still fighting to preserve the idea of federation ; but as the nation grew, and its collective consciousness of nationhood developed, the aims and functions of the parties were modified.

When the Union was only a few years old, the Federalist party was formed. It was led by Alexander Hamilton, and it stood for strong, centralized control, and the granting of wide powers to the Federal Government. Opposed to this was the Republican party, led by Thomas Jefferson, which championed states' rights. It claimed to stand for liberty, and was not prepared to grant much latitude or discretion to the Federal Government. These parties at first satisfied and expressed the main divisions of

PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS

President	Party	Date of Birth	Place of Birth
15. James Buchanan . . .	Dem.	1791	Pennsylvania
16. Abraham Lincoln . . .	Rep.	1809	Kentucky
Abraham Lincoln . . .			
17. Andrew Johnson . . .	Dem.	1808	N. Carolina
18. Ulysses Simpson Grant . . .	Rep.	1822	Ohio
Ulysses Simpson Grant . . .			
19. Rutherford Richard Hayes	Rep.	1822	Ohio
20. James Abram Garfield . . .	Rep.	1831	Ohio
21. Chester Alan Arthur . . .	Rep.	1830	Vermont
22. Grover Cleveland . . .	Dem.	1837	New Jersey
23. Benjamin Harrison . . .	Rep.	1833	Ohio
24. Grover Cleveland . . .	Dem.		
25. William McKinley . . .	Rep.	1843	Ohio
William McKinley . . .			
26. Theodore Roosevelt . . .	Rep.	1858	New York
Theodore Roosevelt . . .			
27. William Howard Taft . . .	Rep.	1857	Ohio
28. Woodrow Wilson . . .	Dem.	1856	Virginia
Woodrow Wilson . . .			

OF THE UNITED STATES—*continued*

Term	Date of Death	Vice-President
1857-61	1868	14. John Cabell Breckinridge
1861-65	1865	15. Hannibal Hamlin
1865		16. Andrew Johnson
1865-69	1875	
1869-73	1885	17. Schuyler Colfax
1873-77		18. Henry Wilson (died 1875)
1877-81	1893	19. William Almon Wheeler
1881	1881	20. Chester Alan Arthur
1881-85	1886	
1885-89	1908	21. Thomas Andrews Hendricks (died 1885)
1889-93	1901	22. Levi P. Morton
1893-97		23. Adlai E. Stevenson
1897-1901	1901	24. Garrett A. Hobart
1901		25. Theodore Roosevelt
1901-05	1919	
1905-09		26. Charles W. Fairbanks
1909-13	1930	27. James S. Sherman
1913-17	1921	28. Thomas R. Marshall
1917-21		

PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS

President	Party	Date of Birth	Place of Birth
29. Warren Gamaliel Harding	Rep.	1865	Ohio
30. Calvin Coolidge . . .	Rep.	1872	Vermont
Calvin Coolidge . . .			
31. Herbert Clark Hoover .	Rep.	1874	Iowa
32. Franklin Delano Roosevelt	Dem.	1882	New York
Franklin Delano Roosevelt			
Franklin Delano Roosevelt			

political feeling in the newly-federated states ; but as it became increasingly obvious that the existence of the nation depended upon an effective Federal Government, the Federalist party gradually disappeared, and the Republican party, still vigorous, changed its name, and under the presidency of Andrew Jackson, 1829-1837, became the Democratic party.

From the remains of the old Federalist party, a new one was formed, and until 1854 it was known as the Whig party. In that year it was disrupted by the slavery question, and another party arose, composed largely of former Whigs, but calling itself Republican. This Republican party ran Abraham Lincoln as their presidential candidate, and from 1860 the two parties have retained their names and their political identity, so that from Lincoln's first term the administration has been either Republican or Democratic.

The policy of these parties has been changed in detail but not in principle from time to time. At present, under Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Democratic party represents

activity of the two political parties, which nominated their candidates for the presidency and vice-presidency long before the electors could pretend to exercise their choice. As the parties also nominated the state candidates for presidential electors, those shadowy figures were pledged in advance to support the party's presidential candidate.

In the June or July preceding the November election, the two political parties organize national nominating conventions composed of delegates who are chosen either by primary elections or by party conventions in the states. In the Democratic Convention each state is represented by delegates, in number equal to twice the state's combined representation in the Senate and the House of Representatives. In the National Republican Convention the representation of the States in both houses of Congress is also taken as a basis for the number of delegates.

CONGRESS

EVERY state in the Union has its own legislature, consisting of two houses. This system was inherited partly from the colonial legislatures, and partly from the example of the British Parliament. The smaller house is the Senate, and the larger is the House of Representatives, though occasionally it is called the House of Delegates or the Assembly.

The administrative structure of the states provided the model for Congress, which consists of the Senate and the House of Representatives.

The Senate has 96 members, two from each state. They are elected for a term of six years, and the terms are so arranged that one-third of the members retires every two years. The Constitution has laid it down that "no person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age

of thirty years and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen." There is also a restriction to the effect that "No person holding any other office in the United States can be a Senator, and no Senator can be appointed to office, the emoluments of which have been increased during his term of service in the Senate." (This applies also to the House of Representatives.)

To satisfy a long-standing demand that the United States Senators should be elected by the direct vote of the people, the Seventeenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted in 1913, which provides that: "The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each state, elected by the people thereof for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for the electors of the numerous branches of the state legislatures."

The Constitution also enacted that the Senators chosen at the first election should be divided into three classes. The seats of all Senators of the first class become vacant at the end of two years; all Senators of the second class at the end of four years; and Senators of the third class at the end of six years. One-third is therefore chosen every second year. State legislatures can fix the time, place and manner of electing Senators, but Congress may make or alter such regulations, excepting only the places of choosing Senators.

Representation in the House of Representatives is based upon population. The Constitution provides that every ten years, following the Federal census, Congress determines how many members will constitute the House of Representatives. This number is then divided into the total population of the 48 states, to obtain a ratio of representation. Each state can send as many representatives as this ratio is contained in its population. Each state, however small its population, is entitled to at least one representative.

Members are elected for two years. Each state is divided into districts corresponding to the number of members it has in the House of Representatives. Each member must be a resident of the state from which he is chosen ; and local interests make it virtually impossible for anybody to be elected for a district within the state if he does not actually live there. This tends to deprive Congress of experienced legislators if they are not re-elected by their particular districts.

During the two-year term of members, there are normally two sessions of Congress. The so-called long session begins in the December of years with odd numbers, and usually adjourns in the early summer of the following year. The short session begins in the December of even-numbered years, and ends on the succeeding March 4th, when the terms of the members expire. Congressional elections are held in November of even-numbered years. The terms of members then elected begin on March 4th of the following year ; but newly elected members do not come into regular session until the succeeding December. The short session always consists partly of members who have failed to be re-elected, and who do not therefore represent their constituents. The President is empowered to call the newly-elected Congress in special session at any time after March 4th, and this is generally done.

The new President used to be inaugurated on March 4th, but this date was changed after the first inauguration of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1933. The Twentieth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted in that year, and Section I provides that : " The terms of the President and Vice-President shall end at noon on the twentieth day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the third day of January of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified : and the terms of their successors shall begin then."

SECTION IV. THE INSTITUTIONS

THE JUDICIARY

THE judicial system of the United States consists of State Courts, Federal Courts, and the Supreme Court.

State Courts are created by the States, and their judges and other officers are elected by popular vote for a term of years. Each county in a state has its probate and other minor courts, and each county and each town in a county has a justice of the peace, who is generally a committing magistrate. In large cities and towns there are J.P.s and Police Magistrates with powers to issue warrants of arrest, and who hold the preliminary hearings of cases brought before them.

The Federal Courts are created by Congress, and derive their powers from Congress, and have their place in the Federal Constitution. Their judges are appointed by the President, with the consent of the Senate. The Federal judiciary system is independent of the executive and of the legislature. The Federal Courts deal only with cases which come under Federal law, all other cases being dealt with by the State Courts.

The Supreme Court of the United States represents the highest legal authority in the Union. The judges of the Supreme Court hold their office "during good behaviour," and can only be removed by impeachment. There have

only been eleven Justices of the Supreme Court since 1790 :

John Jay	of New York
John Rutledge	„ South Carolina
Oliver Ellsworth	„ Connecticut
John Marshall	„ Virginia
Roger B. Taney	„ Maryland
Salmon P. Chase	„ Ohio
Morrison R. Waite	„ Ohio
Melville W. Fuller	„ Illinois
Edward D. White	„ Louisiana
William Howard Taft	„ Ohio
Charles Evans Hughes	„ New York

EDUCATION IN AMERICA

IN colonial times, educational institutions were modelled upon European prototypes. Nothing new or novel or really vigorous in ideas about education found expression until Benjamin Franklin formed that enterprising club for self-improvement and debate, which he called the *Junto*. The influence of Franklin's original mind was considerable, but it was not powerful enough to rebuild educational methods entirely, even in an institution that he helped to found in Philadelphia, and which ultimately became the University of Pennsylvania. (Chapter VI, page 66.) From the time Franklin wrote his *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania*, to Thomas Jefferson's attempt to persuade the state of Virginia to adopt a scheme of universal elementary education, the profound importance of the subject was never far from the minds of the American leaders. Washington had hoped to found a National University; Jefferson regarded education as a primary responsibility of a democratic state. But the leaders were a long way ahead of the sovereign people.

In the Constitution of the United States no provision was made for education. The nation, still hardly conscious of its own federal unity, could not be expected to appreciate such a national responsibility. So even after the War of Independence had severed so many ties with Britain, religious, social and legal, American education still preserved

its European, and particularly its British, likeness. Educational systems adapted to serve communities where established social privileges had to be accommodated and where men of lowly station were theoretically supposed to accept their lot with an air of bright and pleased thankfulness, were obviously out of place in a democracy, where class distinctions were, theoretically, abolished. Thinking men were dissatisfied with the idea of continuing such systems, and during the last decade of the eighteenth century the American Philosophical Society offered a prize for a national plan of education, "the best system of liberal education and literary instruction adapted to the genius of the government of the United States." Professor Faulkner summarizes the response to that offer in these words: "The plans submitted were interesting and surprisingly modern in that they emphasized the need of a system of national education, urged the study of the sciences rather than the classics, and stressed the need of utilitarian subjects." (*A Short History of the American People*, Chapter XIII.) A businesslike concern for the present and the future was becoming apparent.

As new schools and colleges were founded, and existing schools were reshaped to meet new needs, three types of education developed in America. In due time the individual states accepted their responsibility, and in general their aim was to furnish a properly co-ordinated system of elementary, secondary and higher education. To this day the Federal Government exerts only an indirect influence. The three types of school were originally: 1, Socially Selective. 2, Parochial. 3, Town and District.

1. *Socially Selective*

This type of school flourished in the south, where strong social distinctions existed and where the Episcopal Church exerted a powerful influence. Even after the War of

Independence those social distinctions remained; and education was confined almost entirely to the children of wealthy planters and the professional classes. In Colonial days tutors were often imported from Europe, or children were sent to England for their education.

Secondary education, based chiefly on the establishment of Latin schools, which were often founded and maintained, in a rather haphazard way, by voluntary effort, developed fairly extensively in the southern states. Elementary education scarcely existed; and, apart from the apprenticeship system, the poorer citizens and their educational needs were ignored. For higher education there was the College of William and Mary in Virginia.

English methods and ideas long influenced the educational institutions of the south. The strength of the Episcopal Church in the southern colonies may have accounted for this, for in the eighteenth century that body was not sympathetic with democratic thought; but the various Nonconformists, particularly in New England, had throughout their history in the colonies been closely identified with the democratic outlook.

2. *Parochial*

In the middle colonies, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York, a parochial school system had been evolved. It was the work of a variety of religious organizations, who agreed upon the simple educational principle that every individual should be able to read the Bible. Calvinists, Presbyterians, Quakers and the Dutch Reformed Church all supported the system. Each sect had its own parochial or parish school in order that proper control could be exercised over the doctrines imparted to the children whose parents were members of that sect. Under this moral and democratic control, elementary education was established. For secondary education there were many grammar (or

Latin) schools. The colleges of Princeton and Pennsylvania provided for higher education.

3. *Town and District*

The town schools originated in New England, and their function was never complicated by class distinctions, nor were religious differences allowed to debar any child from educational opportunities. Calvinist principles coloured the teaching; and from the earliest times it was made clear that the function of education was to enable people to read the Bible. But religious enthusiasm abated during the eighteenth century. Business was developing; the Indian menace was gradually brought under control, and the town schools decayed. The colonists, feeling more secure from Indian attacks, began to move away from the towns, and the "district school" now appeared. Usually, the "district" was settled by poor people, who could only afford a teacher for a few months in the year. The teacher was often a miserable scholar, and badly paid. Higher education in New England was provided by the Colleges of Harvard and Yale.

Endowment of Education

In 1862, the Morrill Act was passed, under which 30,000 acres of public land were set aside for each member of Congress in the several States for—"the endowment, support and maintenance of at least one college, where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the pursuits and professions in life."

In the years which followed the Civil War, every state in the Union took advantage of the benefits bestowed by this Act.

In recent years, the Federal Government has granted subsidies for agricultural colleges in order to extend research in home economics, rural social science and other related studies.

It cannot be said that the United States has any national plan of education ; but the State-supported colleges and universities and the Federal subsidies which they receive constitute a co-operative educational effort.

COMPULSORY AND ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

THE idea of compulsory education was first spread by the Calvinists and members of the Dutch Reformed Church in the early days of colonization. The "compulsory" qualification was due to the belief that every man, woman and child should be able to read the Bible. In the colonies where these sects flourished elementary education developed.

In 1928, there were 23,503,416 children in elementary schools in the United States, and the curriculum in these schools is almost the same all over the country. The ordinary progress for a child is a course of eight years at the elementary school, often preceded by a year at a kindergarten, the child entering the elementary school at the age of six, and graduating at fourteen.

There are still rural schools in sparsely populated parts, but these are gradually disappearing as the urban population and the establishment of union schools increases.

Associated with elementary schools are many social and communal activities. The school buildings are used for mothers' clubs, parent-teachers' associations, women's civic clubs, musical organizations, art clubs, Boy Scouts, Camp-fire Girls, gymnastic clubs, dramatic and literary clubs, debating societies, lectures, and evening schools for many

purposes. Thus, the development of character, as well as direct education, becomes a function of the local school. Many elementary schools include auditoriums, gymnasiums, lunch-rooms, libraries and reading rooms, and swimming pools.

SECONDARY EDUCATION

SECONDARY education in America has passed through three stages of development :

1. The Colonial Period (Latin Grammar schools) ;
2. From the War of Independence to the middle of the nineteenth century (the " academy ") ;
3. Up to the present day (growth of the public high schools).

1. *The Grammar Schools*

These were established in New England under Calvinistic influence, and they resembled English grammar schools in character. Early in the history of Virginia, a Latin Grammar school was proposed, and funds for its establishment were raised and land reserved, but the Indian massacre of 1622 put an end to the project. In 1635 a Latin school was founded at Boston, Massachusetts, which exists to-day. The citizens of Boston voted for the establishment of this school, and donations by private individuals and the rent of certain islands in the harbour contributed to its support, these contributions being supplemented by a town rate when necessary. Other towns in Massachusetts followed the example of Boston by founding similar grammar schools, and by the middle of the eighteenth century most of the grammar schools in the colony charged no fees for tuition, as the town rate method of support had been adopted.

In Connecticut Latin schools were established at New Haven in 1641 and at Hartford about 1642, and later at

Hadley and Cambridge. At New Amsterdam, in 1659, the Dutch opened a school, and this continued in its original form for some years under English rule. In Pennsylvania, secondary schools were founded in the latter part of the seventeenth century, among them the William Penn Charter School at Philadelphia, which still exists. In Maryland, King William's school founded at Annapolis in 1696, was followed by others in different parts of the colony.

The University Grammar School at Rhode Island and the Free School at New York, both established during the eighteenth century, were forerunners of the colonial colleges. Many other grammar schools were founded during this period, in different colonies, some as the result of private enterprise, and some through legislative action.

These grammar schools and colleges had hardly any connection with the few elementary schools then in existence, and were intended for the children of the professional and upper classes. Their chief function was to prepare pupils for admission to the colleges. The curriculum consisted almost exclusively of Latin, Greek and religion, and its scope was controlled by the conditions of admission to the colleges. The work of the grammar schools gradually developed into the selection of students who showed promise of ability in the higher studies, and then to prepare them specially for college. Boys who showed no ability in such studies were not encouraged and received little attention.

New England alone showed interest and made progress in education. The way was led by Massachusetts, where as early as 1647 legislation ordained that in every town of fifty families there should be an elementary school, and in every town of a hundred families a grammar school. This example was followed by Connecticut, New Hampshire and Maryland, the latter adopting a system of county grammar schools. The New England colonies carried on

these methods of organizing education up to and after the War of Independence, and continued to maintain them, with very little change, after the colonies had become states.

2. *The Academies*

Changes in outlook and thought, which grew as the Revolutionary period approached, were largely responsible for the appearance of the "academy" about the middle of the eighteenth century. It met the needs of a more secular generation, and it found a precedent in the academies which had been established by the Dissenters in England, as distinct from the grammar schools and universities. The teaching in these academies was on very practical lines, and included many technical subjects.

In 1726, the "Log College" was founded by a Presbyterian minister at Neshaming in Pennsylvania. It was built of logs, and its situation was at that time isolated. At the "Log College" classical and religious instruction was given and it trained many pastors and teachers who founded their own log colleges all over the middle and southern counties of the state. Neshaming was eventually incorporated in what is now Princeton University.

At Philadelphia, in 1753, the first American "academy" to be called by that name was established largely by the efforts of Benjamin Franklin. It was maintained by the City Treasury, which also helped to meet tuition fees. It ultimately became the University of Pennsylvania. Its early days marked a departure from the accepted methods of the grammar schools, for it gave first place to such subjects as English and mathematics rather than to religion. During the following decades similar institutions were established in the middle and southern colonies, and the influence of the two Phillips academies, at Andover, Massachusetts and Exeter, New Hampshire, incorporated in 1780 and 1781, spread westwards.

The growth of academies continued up to the Civil War, and one hundred and fifty were founded in Massachusetts between 1780 and 1865. Dexter, in his *History of Education in the United States*, concludes that by 1850, there were 6,085 academies in the United States, employing 12,260 teachers and instructing 263,096 pupils.

The earlier academies, often under the control of religious bodies of various kinds, met the needs of large areas, as many of them were situated in country localities, and took boarders as well as day pupils. The training they gave included English, public speaking, rhetoric, mathematics, navigation, surveying, natural science, astronomy, geography, ancient history, English and American history, Latin and Greek. As these schools often lay in farming districts, many of the courses of study were irregular and were interrupted by farming routine and seasonal arrangements for farm labour. But English, Latin and mathematics seem to have been pursued with satisfactory continuity. Academies founded by Protestant religious bodies usually relinquished their formal ecclesiastical connection when they were legally incorporated. Religious teaching then became unsectarian, and instruction in the principles of Christianity gave them a broad, liberal character, which was to influence the public schools that were established later.

At first only education for boys had been general, but as education spread the "female seminary" appeared—the feminine counterpart of the boys' academy. There were also convent schools for girls, run by Roman Catholics, which took non-Catholic pupils. A few of the academies admitted both boys and girls. These co-educational academies and "female seminaries" were the forerunners of the co-educational colleges and women's colleges which began to appear about 1840.

Another activity of the academies was the provision of

teachers for the elementary schools. The Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts, undertook special courses for training teachers, and these were also organized in New York and Pennsylvania. In 1839, when the first state normal schools were founded in Massachusetts, ideas for their planning and organization were derived from such teachers' courses.

3. *The Public High Schools*

The habit of democratic thought, and the waning influence of religious bodies in educational matters, led to a demand for schools that were wholly under the control of the states. The first of such schools was founded at Boston in 1821, and was at first called the English Classical School, later changing its name to the English High School. The School Committee critically disapproved of the form of education that had hitherto been available at the English Grammar schools. In the course of their report they had said ". . . the branches of knowledge that are taught . . . are not sufficiently extensive nor otherwise calculated to bring the powers of the mind into operation, nor to qualify a youth to fill usefully and respectably many of the stations, both public and private, in which he may be placed."

These Public High Schools did not at first prepare pupils for college. Pupils were received from elementary schools, and were given a four-year course, which included English and literature, mathematics, navigation, surveying, geography, history, natural philosophy, logic, moral and political philosophy and Latin. Modern languages were eventually added.

Boston's example was followed by cities in other states. Both before and after the Civil War the public high school system was opposed by many people who still considered the academy the best channel of secondary

education, and by those who thought secondary education should come within the scope of government activities. Before the Civil War the growth of these schools was slow, and it has been estimated that only 321 existed prior to 1860. At that date only 69 cities of the United States had established a properly co-ordinated course of high school study.

Following the establishment of these public high schools, efforts were made by the states to organize secondary education. It was not an easy task to transform academies founded by private enterprise into state-controlled institutions. Nor could it be carried out quickly. The hostility of a highly individualistic public had to be faced and placated.

Soon after the War of Independence many states had organized systems of secondary education. Although the concrete fulfilment of these systems was delayed for some time, there was a widespread public desire in the early nineteenth century to see satisfactory and complete systems of instruction established on such lines. The Constitution of Indiana, in 1816, included this resolution :

It shall be the duty of the general assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law for a general system of education ; ascending in regular gradation from township schools to a state university wherein tuition shall be gratis and equally open to all.

Despite opposition to public high schools, the system gradually grew, and in 1798 Connecticut authorized the opening of high schools by local authorities. In Massachusetts it was enacted, in 1827, that towns of five hundred families were to provide a master to give instruction in the history of the United States, book-keeping, geometry, surveying and algebra ; and, in towns of four thousand inhabitants, a master to teach Latin, Greek, history, rhetoric and logic. By degrees the public state schools grew ;

in 1849 Iowa provided expressly for aiding public schools, and in 1858 established county high schools. In New York and Maryland a method of systematic grading was adopted.

In 1866, the United States Bureau of Education was founded, and began to collect statistics. Many difficulties arose in the classification of secondary institutions. About 1885, the public high schools had established themselves sufficiently to draw more pupils than other secondary institutions, and since 1890 their growth has been enormous. It has been estimated that in 1928-29 the enrolment figures were 3,911,279 at public high schools, 341,158 at private high schools, 50,588 at preparatory departments of colleges, and 18,336 at secondary departments of colleges.

This vast growth of the public high school system is due, among other things, to the changes that have occurred since the Civil War. Since then the great increase in the population has included many immigrants, who were ignorant of American political conditions; the expansion of science and the multiplication of inventions have influenced the growth of industry, and that again has created a demand for new and specialized forms of training and instruction.

A comparatively recent development of state control is found in the Junior Colleges, of which there are now about 519. They originated in the University of Chicago, when William Rainey Harper in 1892 organized the Liberal Arts College into upper and lower divisions. Later on, Professor Lange of the University of California, was instrumental in getting a law passed which authorized the establishment of Junior Colleges as units of the public school system.

Present Organization of State Systems of Secondary Education

To-day, the legal unit of educational organization in the United States is the state, but state boards of education

usually possess powers to settle matters of detail. In many states the schools are inspected by a "high school inspector," and in others this duty is performed by a deputy commissioner of education. A few states classify their high schools in grades, but it is exceptional for state boards to have a voice in the actual control of courses of study. In most states, legislation is "permissive" for the establishment of high schools, and state aid is given to schools in rural districts, though not on a large scale. Schools in the big cities are controlled centrally, and form a class by themselves.

State boards of education are designed to be free from political influence, and are composed of men with progressive views and first-class knowledge, who are willing to devote themselves to questions of policy and organization.

HIGHER EDUCATION

SOME of the colleges and universities of the United States which cater for higher education were founded by earlier settlers who had enjoyed a university education in England or Europe. Among them were many graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, the majority being ministers and teachers, and they recognized the need of colleges for training religious and political leaders. Twelve colleges were founded before the War of Independence, and these, while resembling the English universities, were influenced at the same time by the character of their founders and the religious ideas under which they were established. Gradually they developed identities of their own. The twelve colleges were disrupted by the upheavals caused by the War of Independence, and three of them succumbed in the disorganizing atmosphere of the Revolution.

The Colleges and Universities

Harvard was founded in 1638. In 1636 the Court of Massachusetts had set aside £400 for the purpose of establishing a college or school, and when, in 1638, a clergyman named John Harvard bequeathed half his estate, and his library to further the idea, the college of Harvard was founded and named after him. (Section II, Massachusetts, page 225.)

The College of William and Mary at Williamsburg, Virginia, was chartered by the Crown in 1693, and it was placed under the control of the Anglican Church.

Yale University was founded in Connecticut in 1701. It was established by the Puritans for the purpose of—"fitting youths for publick employment, both in Church and State."

Five more colleges were founded during the mid-eighteenth century, and four of these were established under direct religious control; three of them moulded on the lines of Oxford and Cambridge. They were:

Princeton, first called the College of New Jersey, founded by the Presbyterians in 1746.

King's College, now Columbia University, founded by the Anglican Church.

Brown University, Rhode Island, established by the Philadelphia Baptists' Association.

Rutgers University, established by the Dutch Reformed Church.

Dartmouth College, which grew from an Indian school, was intended to develop vocational education. There were many later developments of this idea, which was at that time entirely new.

One university—Pennsylvania—was not limited by tradition. This was due to the influence of Benjamin Franklin, who attempted to create an institution where scientific subjects would be taught as well as Latin and

Greek, and it was from his idea that education should play a functional part in human society, that this great university grew. (Chapter VI, page 66.) The first Medical School in the North American Continent was founded in 1765 at Philadelphia.

Included in the "Ordinance for the Government of the territory of the United States Northwest of the Ohio River," passed by Congress in 1787, were the following words:

Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.

Under this Ordinance, provision was made for one section in every township to be reserved for the maintenance of public schools, as well as an extra grant of two townships to each state for the purpose of establishing and maintaining a university. When the Federal Constitution was adopted in 1789 this provision was confirmed, and it affected Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin as they entered the Union, and their State Universities were developed from these land endowments. The policy of the Federal Government to give grants of land to assist education thus became established.

The following educational institutions were founded in the late eighteenth century:

Hampden-Sidney College, Virginia, 1776. Presbyterian.

Washington and Jefferson College, Pennsylvania, 1780. Presbyterian.

Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., 1789. Roman Catholic.

Williams College, at Williamstown, Massachusetts. Founded by Ephraim Williams in 1793, as a free school.

Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine, 1794. Non-sectarian.

Union College, New York, 1795. Founded "by a *union* of Christian sects."

Middlebury College, Vermont, a non-sectarian college established in 1800.

Many of the earlier colleges were entirely or partially supported by public funds. Harvard, Yale, King's College, Pennsylvania and Princeton came under public control in their early days.

The first State University to be established as such was North Carolina in 1789. Since then many more have been founded, so that now there is at least one in most states. Not all the New England states have state universities, but Harvard is in Massachusetts and Yale is in Connecticut. The following list gives the State Universities, in alphabetical order, with the dates they were founded.

Alabama	1819	Nebraska	1869
Arizona	1885	Nevada	1874
Arkansas	1871	New Hampshire . .	1866
California	1868	New Jersey	1766
Colorado	1876	New Mexico	1889
Delaware	1833	North Carolina . .	1789
Florida	1905	North Dakota . . .	1883
Georgia	1785	Ohio	1870
Idaho	1889	Oklahoma	1890
Illinois	1867	Oregon	1872
Indiana	1820	Pennsylvania . . .	1740
Iowa	1847	South Carolina . .	1801
Kansas	1865	South Dakota . . .	1862
Kentucky	1865	Tennessee	1794
Louisiana	1855	Texas	1881
Maine	1865	Utah	1850
Maryland	1807	Vermont	1791
Michigan	1817	Virginia	1819
Minnesota	1851	Washington	1861
Mississippi	1844	West Virginia . . .	1867
Missouri	1839	Wisconsin	1848
Montana	1893	Wyoming	1887

SOME SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

FROM the earliest days of the Republic, American citizens have shown a strong taste for specialized societies and social groups. Some of these were formed shortly after the War of Independence: and a few have survived from those early days. Business clubs, like rotary clubs, organizations concerned with charity, education, religious instruction, and political propaganda, have appeared from time to time. Some societies became an embarrassment both to State and Federal authorities—the Ku Klux Klan, for example. A brief summary of the nature and history of a few typical societies are given in this section.

In the sparsely populated districts where the pioneers settled during the early years of the nineteenth century a high value was put on neighbourliness: and as the population of various districts increased, neighbourliness was codified, organized, and people of similar tastes got together and founded various clubs and societies. The absence of titles in the democratic structure of the country not only encouraged the growth of societies with fancy names, but brought into current use a number of unofficial or semi-official titles. The fact that a good many men had seen active service in the irregular forces which had to quell the constant Indian troubles, produced a fine crop of majors and colonels; and prominent men in a locality

were quite often given these courtesy titles by their neighbours, who wished to show them especial respect, even if they had no soldiering to their credit. There was nothing snobbish about this : there was nothing hereditary about it either. So during the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century a popular man, with a real capacity for leadership and the public spirit to undertake public work, was often known as Colonel or Major or Judge.

After the Civil War, there was an authentic military reason for many of these titles. Among the new societies formed after that war, was the Ku Klux Klan, which became so terrible and powerful that it was outlawed. At the end of the European War in 1918, military titles were not used extensively. Americans wanted to forget that war, and wanted to shake themselves free from military bonds. All honour was paid to those who had made some sacrifice, and mothers who had lost sons in the war were known as Gold Star Mothers. But, generally speaking, men who had held commissioned rank in the American Expeditionary Force did not preserve the memory of their titles in civil life.

Society of the Cincinnati : This was founded in 1783, and its members were ex-officers of the Continental Army, who had served for three years. (See Chapter VIII, page 82.)

The Tammany Society, or the Columbian Order : Founded in 1789 by William Mooney, really as a counterblast to the Society of the Cincinnati. Full details of its objects and growth and ultimate political development are given in Chapter VIII, page 83. The Tammany Society helped to revive a much earlier organization, which was founded in colonial days, called the Sons of Liberty. The members were frankly revolutionary, and were organized to resist the Stamp Act. Their first branches were in New York

and Connecticut. When the Revolution became a reality, and the War of Independence began, the Society lapsed.

Knights of the Golden Circle : This was a secret organization founded in the late eighteen-fifties, with secession for the South as its principal object. Its members dreamed of a great Southern power where Negro slavery would be preserved, and where the control of tobacco, cotton and sugar interests would conserve the wealth and establish the power of an independent state. The Society was disbanded in 1863.

Ku Klux Klan : This was founded about 1865 at Pulaski, Tennessee, and was at first a purely social club. Its transformation into a terrorist organization is described in Chapter XV, page 167; and its revival in 1915 and its remarkable growth in the nineteen-twenties are dealt with in Chapter XX, page 202.

The Knights of Labour : A political organization concerned with the welfare of labour was founded at Philadelphia in 1869. The originator was Uriah Stevens, and with ten members of the garment-cutting trade he formed a secret society with a complicated ritual. By 1872 twenty-seven local assemblies had been organized in Philadelphia. Six years later, a General Assembly was held at Reading, Pennsylvania, at which seven states were represented. This meeting was the occasion for a declaration of the Society's principles. It was "for organizing, educating and directing the power of the industrial masses" in order to "make industrial and moral worth and not wealth the true standard of national and individual greatness." Also "to secure to the workers the full enjoyment of the wealth they create." In 1881 secrecy was abandoned, and in 1882 a revised constitution was adopted. By 1886 delegates on the General Assembly represented over 300,000 members. The society supported strikes only if conciliation had failed, but they consistently opposed violence. In

1886, dissensions split the society, and the American Federation of Labour was formed. Since then, the Knights of Labour have lost membership, and in 1939 numbered less than 100,000.

Knights of Pythias : This brotherhood was formed to disseminate the principles of friendship, charity and benevolence. It was founded at Washington in 1864, and is confined to North America, and numbers over 700,000.

Knights of Columbus : This fraternal society was organized under a special charter granted by the State of Connecticut in 1882. Membership is confined to men who are practising Catholics, and there are over 600,000 members, organized in some 2,500 councils. The order has now been established throughout the U.S.A., Canada, Newfoundland, Alaska, the Philippines, Cuba, Porto Rico, the Canal Zone, Mexico and Panama. It affords certain insurance benefits, but is devoted mainly to the promotion and protection of Catholic interests.

Knights of the Golden Eagle : This benevolent society was founded at Baltimore in 1873. Its membership exceeds 70,000 and there is a branch for women with some 20,000 members, who are the relatives of male members. Its slogans are : Fidelity, valour and honour for males ; and faith, hope and charity for females. It is a mutual aid society and also aims to assist members in business. Members must be over eighteen years of age, white, physically fit and of good moral character. They must *not* be engaged directly or indirectly in the sale or manufacture of liquor.

Kiwanis International : This is an international organization of business and professional clubs ; no club has more than two of the leaders of each business or profession, who associate to render civic and social service to their communities. It was founded at Detroit in 1915, and at the end of 1930 the membership was 100,000. Its slogan is " We Build," and its objectives are to encourage public

improvements, to introduce and maintain purity in municipal politics.

Sons of Veterans: A patriotic organization founded in 1879, whose membership is confined to male descendants over eighteen years of age, of all soldiers, sailors or marines who served with the Union forces during the Civil War. The Daughters of Veterans is a sister-organization.

Sons of the Revolution: A patriotic society organized in New York in 1875. The practical work to which the society devotes its attention, includes the care and preservation of manuscripts, records and other documents relating to the War of Independence. The membership is about 20,000.

Sons of the American Revolution: Another patriotic society, organized in New York in 1889, with the object of perpetuating the memory of the men who achieved American independence. It gives encouragement to historical research in connection with the Revolution. The membership is about 30,000.

Daughters of the Revolution: A patriotic society founded in 1891. Membership is confined to women, and only lineal descendants of military, naval or marine officers, soldiers, sailors, or marines, who served loyally under the authority of any of the thirteen original states, or of the Continental Congress, are eligible. Descendants of the signatories of the Declaration of Independence, or of members of the Continental Congress, or of the Congresses of any of the colonies or states, or of any official appointed by or under the authority of such representative bodies, who was actually associated with the establishment of American independence by service rendered during the War of Independence, are also eligible. The membership is about 8,000.

Daughters of the American Revolution: A society of women whose members are descended from men who rendered

material aid to the cause of American independence, as soldiers, sailors or civil officers in one of the colonies or states. It was organized in Washington, D.C., in 1890. The objects are to perpetuate the spirit and memory of the men and women who achieved American independence. The society had a membership of 171,109 in 1931, and has some 1,500 local chapters.

Daughters of the Confederacy: An association of the widows, wives, mothers, sisters and lineal family descendants of men who served honourably in the army or navy of the Confederate States, or who rendered personal services to the Confederate cause in the Civil War. It was organized at Nashville, Tennessee, in 1894, and now has about 110,000 members.

United States National Society of the Daughters of 1812: An association founded by Flora Adams Darling in 1892 as the General Society United States Daughters of 1812. Its purpose is to preserve the memory of historical events from the War of Independence to the close of the second War with Britain in 1815, and also to collect historical, general and biographical data concerning that period. Women over eighteen, who are lineal descendants of those who rendered civil, military, or naval service during the War of 1812, are eligible.

Difficulties arose when new states were admitted to the Union, for each demanded a star and a stripe on the Flag. This was met by a law passed in 1818, which stated :

“ On admission of every new State into the Union, one star be added to the Union of the Flag, and that such addition shall take effect from the 4th July next succeeding such admission.”

The Flag bears many names, including “ Old Glory,” the Star-Spangled Banner, the Stars and Stripes, the Stripes and Stars, and the “ Flag of the Free.” The name of “ Old Glory ” was first used in 1831 by William Driver, a sailing captain of Salem, Massachusetts.

STATE FLAGS

Some of the states began as embryo republics, and many of them have, to this day, separate state flags. Here are a few examples :

California : White with a red stripe below and a red star at the union. A grizzly bear at centre of flag : with below the words in black, “ California Republic.”

Texas : White and red stripe with a broad blue perpendicular stripe at hoist or staff side, and upon it a large white star. It was the flag of the Lone Star Republic.

Louisiana : A blue flag, and, in white, a pelican feeding its young. Below the device, the words “ Union, Justice and Confidence.”

Indiana : Blue, in centre a torch in yellow, above the flame a large star above which the word Indiana in gold. It is encircled by thirteen stars, and within the lower part of this starry circle are five other stars.

Mississippi : Adopted after the Civil War, this flag has three stripes, blue, white and red with a red union, upon which appears a blue cross of St. Andrew with thirteen white stars.

Alabama : A St. Andrew's Cross in red upon a white field.

Delaware : A blue flag, with a large diamond in the centre on a gold field, upon which appears the device of the State Great Seal in proper colours ; under it "December 7, 1787."

Maryland : The flag bears the Shield of the State, which is the personal shield of Lord Baltimore ; the tinctures are red, black, gold and silver.

SOME NATIONAL HOLIDAYS

Thanksgiving Day : There is an annual festival of thanksgiving for the mercies of the closing year. The day is fixed by proclamation of the President and the Governors of the States. The President's proclamation makes the day a legal holiday in the District of Columbia and other territories. In 1789, the Episcopal Church formally recognized this feast, and in 1888 the Roman Catholic Church also decided to honour a festival which had long been almost universally observed, especially in the New England states where it ranks as a great annual family festival, of comparable importance to Christmas.

The earliest Harvest Thanksgiving in America was kept by the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth in 1621, and was often repeated during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Congress recommended days of thanksgiving annually during the War of Independence, and in 1784 for the return of peace. Washington appointed such a day in 1789, after the adopting of the Constitution, and in 1795 for the general welfare of the nation. Since 1863 the Presidents have issued proclamations appointing the last Thursday in November as Thanksgiving Day.

Labour Day : The first Monday in September is a legal holiday in all the States and the District of Columbia, Porto Rico, Hawaii and Alaska. The celebration of this

day was inaugurated by the Knights of Labour, who in 1882 held a parade in New York and again in 1884, when a resolution by George R. Lloyd, one of the Knights of Labour, was passed to hold all parades on that day. Working men of all organizations then began an agitation to have the day made a legal holiday, and on March 15th, 1887, the first law to that effect was passed in Colorado. New York, New Jersey and Massachusetts soon followed this example.

The day is celebrated by parades and meetings which are addressed by prominent labour leaders.

Independence Day: The anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence is July 4th, and it is kept as a public holiday.

SECTION V. THE CITIES AND HOMES

GK. CHESTERTON was once asked what struck him as the chief difference between America and England, and he replied "The wooden house." In the United States there is an indigenous architecture of wood. Timber was plentiful: forests had to be cleared. The early settlers built their first dwellings of wood. Untrimmed logs were used, and the log cabin has become a romantic symbol, for which the American public cherishes a profound affection. In England, particularly in the south, the English public has a romantic affection for the half-timbered building of the Tudor period. Speculative builders have taken advantage of this, and England has suffered in consequence. The log cabin in America has an equally potent sentimental appeal; but fortunately it is not vulgarized by universal imitation in substitute materials.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a satisfactory form of domestic architecture was evolved in the English colonies, and the modern American frame-house is the result. All over the Eastern States and in the South, there are wood-framed houses faced on the outside with weather-boarding, or clap-boards as they are sometimes called. In the South they have broad, shaded verandahs, and everywhere houses have comfortable sitting-porches, where people enjoy their leisure in that agreeable American institution, the rocking-chair.

White-painted sash windows, generally in the proportion

of a double square, divided by glazing bars into twelve panes, sun shutters, shingled roofs, and an extraordinarily inviting air, are characteristic of this domestic architecture of timber. The details of porches, cornices, moulded work, door and window architraves are derived from English Georgian architecture. This style, for which "Colonial" is accepted as a generic term, is the vernacular architecture of the Eastern States, the Middle West and the South. There are many local variations, and the regional architecture of the United States in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, developed some distinctive characteristics. Even throughout that era of bad taste, the mid- and late nineteenth century, purity of line and lucidity of plan were retained in frame-houses. A living tradition of building was preserved; and there was unbroken continuity with Colonial taste. The frame-house was so extraordinarily convenient, so economical, so easily erected, that none of the growing communities departed from it. Only when outlets for pretentiousness and super-abundant wealth were demanded did the vulgarity of nineteenth-century architecture gain an ascendancy. For example, when Chicago was destroyed by fire in 1871, it was rebuilt lavishly and hideously, and to this day it bears the scar of nineteenth-century taste in its residential areas.

Some of the churches built during the Colonial period in the eastern states, were based on designs by English architects, such as Sir Christopher Wren and James Gibbs. Many of these elegant classic churches adorn the towns and villages of New England. Built of wood and painted white, they look like sparkling marble versions of London's churches.

Most American cities grew up round one settlement, and when they began to expand, their growth was controlled by a grid plan being laid down, so that town lots could be parcelled out for sale, and some idea of the future develop-

ment of the city could be formed. The grid plan created a certain monotony of effect, until in 1889 the first skyscraper, the ten-storey Tower Building, was completed in New York. Infinite powers of vertical variation were now conferred upon architects by improved structural steelwork, and efficient lifts. Elsewhere the writer has recorded the effect of this rediscovery of the tower :

“ After the early, experimental skyscrapers, the American architects were launched upon a course of building that was much more like a Gothic revival than the romantic antiquarianism of the early nineteenth century, for it was carried out with the same boldness and sense of adventure, the same imaginative acceptance of new ideas, that were present when the finest mediæval churches were built. The intention of the new architecture was vastly different from the work of the Middle Ages, and the restrictions of the sites were strange ; but the result, first condemned as hideous by those who were still thinking horizontally (or archaically if they were under the spell of Ruskin and Morris), was a cluster of glorious towers, unlike anything else in the world.

“ Those towers have brought an entirely new idea of the city into being, and they have given commerce an architecture as distinctive as that created by the mediæval builders for the service of religion.

“ America has sketched out the possibility of concentrating social and commercial life vertically instead of spreading it over vast areas. So far this idea of vertical concentration, which steelwork and lifts have rendered possible, has spread only to the business quarters of a number of American cities, and the presence of several enormously tall buildings in a fairly small area has created a traffic problem that is as yet unsolved, and has turned streets into sunless valleys, drowning thousands of apartments and offices in shadow throughout the day. The

latter difficulty has been partly solved by zoning regulations, and from this progressive reduction of the area of the upper storeys of tall buildings the new architecture gains fresh forms. The tower now ascends in a series of steps from its huge plinth of ten or more storeys, its bold outlines minimize the details of its surface, and it suggests sculptured masses, assembled in effortless harmony." (*Men and Buildings*, Chapter IX, pages 160-2.)

American cities provide enormous residential blocks, apart from their superbly-equipped office buildings. Gardens, and sun-parlours, and pent-houses hundreds of feet above the street level, drink up the fresh air and sunlight; but at lower levels the great apartment blocks are sunless and noisy. These disadvantages are alleviated in the better-class buildings by an array of labour-saving appliances, by the introduction of air-conditioning, and by the use of acoustic materials to minimize noises, so that an apartment in one of the roaring, modern American cities like New York or Chicago, or Pittsburgh or Philadelphia, can be a cool and quiet retreat, a series of linked cells, cut off from the noise and the jar of the outside world. But American cities are not perfect. They have their slums: they have their dilapidated Negro quarters; they have residential sections which display a sort of out-at-elbows magnificence, for they were once inhabited by the nobility and gentry of colonial times, but are now relegated to a more lowly form of life. It is not easy to forget the shacks and the tumbledown frame-houses of the Negro quarters of St. Louis; the unpainted, tottering wooden houses with their outside galleries, interspersed with rubbish-heaps, in the Negro quarters of Chicago; the slums of New York and Brooklyn; the poor quarters of great and glittering Los Angeles, which was once described as "seven suburbs in search of a city"; sections of the waterfront district of San Francisco; certain neglected parts of Washington

itself—such dank patches represent architectural, economic and social breakdown. They are the dark side of American civilization. It is essentially a land of fierce extremes; and this is demonstrated vividly by its architecture, for architecture is always an inescapable mirror of mankind in any place and at any time. The tall, gleaming towers of New York, the Empire State Building, and the white, piled up, geometric masses of the down-town skyscrapers; the airy towers on Lakeshore Drive in Chicago; the tall, friendly buildings of that most friendly of all American cities, San Francisco; the civic and commercial buildings of the towns in the Middle West, are also unforgettable, but they form the most staggering contrast with the out-of-date tenements built in the nineteenth century, the camps of fruit-pickers, the wayside shacks, the lavish untidiness of half-grown cities and industrial areas. American architecture illustrates American enterprise and American impatience and American disregard for inconvenient facts, so like our own disregard for inconvenient facts.

But American enterprise and that royal impatience which has pushed ahead, getting a job done without too much thought for to-morrow, has brought its own retribution. No one who has seen it can ever forget that sword-cut of sand, lying across the face of fertile country, in Kansas, a bitter, barren strip, a shore without a sea, which marks the Dustbowl. No one can forget the dreary untidiness of the railroad journey from Boston to New York, or from New York to Philadelphia, or the drive from San Francisco airport to that queen of American cities: but equally unforgettable are the superb parkways, which lead from New York, where mile after mile, broad roadways are carved through the country, and no untidy building is allowed anywhere near them; where for scores of miles you can drive through beautiful country without one eyesore of the kind to be found on the great roads out of London.

America suddenly wakes up to a problem, and tackles it with spirit. For years Americans are content with make-shifts ; for years they will accept trestle bridges, and then a superb piece of engineering will replace the temporary timber-work. For years an air-field will be just a landing-ground for aeroplanes, with a few odd huts and sheds : then one day it will be planned, and a fine, modern field with waiting-rooms, hotels, bars, and hangars, will replace the old ramshackle, preliminary stage of development.

American architecture is alive and growing. It is splendidly vital. It is intensely individual. It accepts broadly and in detail its responsibilities as the Mistress Art ; for it is concerned with roads and bridges, the layout of cities, the creation of gigantic towers, and the planning of the smallest and most compact home. It is the true architecture of adventure.

SECTION VI. THE CREATIVE CONTRIBUTION

AMERICA has given to the world not only a new architecture but a technique of industrial production that has changed all our ideas about the possibilities of the machine. Perhaps the high-brow attacks made upon machinery in the nineteenth century, the thunderous denunciations of Ruskin and Morris, the satire and the awful warning conveyed by Samuel Butler's *Erewhon*, had made thousands of otherwise quite intelligent people fear that the machine would become either a master or a menace. In America it became the most efficient and willing slave that has ever ministered to the needs of men.

The work of inventors like Edison, and of great engineers and industrial organizers like Henry Ford, has influenced human life in every part of the world. Through the brain and hands of Thomas Alva Edison alone, America has made a stupendous contribution to the commercial machine age in which we live. Edison's life and work illustrate his enterprise, patience and vision. He lived in an age when everybody believed in progress, in a country where everybody accepted machinery, and where unlimited opportunities awaited an inventor who was not just a visionary, but a practical man. Edison once said, "Genius is 2% inspiration and 98% perspiration."

He was born at Milan, Ohio, on February 11th, 1847. He had no schooling, and when he was twelve he became a

train-boy on the Detroit and Port Huron branch of the Grand Trunk Railroad. In 1862, he bought a small hand-press, and started a paper called the *Grand Trunk Herald* which had a circulation of about four hundred among the employees of the railroad. He produced this news-sheet single-handed. A station agent, who was indebted to him for a service, taught him telegraphy. At first he was an operator at Mount Clemens, and later a "tramp-operator." He was extremely efficient, and the job suited him as he could not tolerate routine, and wanted freedom for reading and his experimental work. His first invention, produced in 1864, was the automatic telegraph repeater. In 1869, he went to New York, where he sold a patent for a telegraphic appliance for \$40,000. This enabled him to start a large electrical laboratory at Newark, New Jersey. He now embarked upon his career as an inventor, and, when he died in 1931, he had about 1,200 patents to his credit.

Among his inventions are the following: a typewriter; a telegraph signal-box; a device which became the mimeograph; transmission developments for the Bell telephone; the phonograph; the incandescent electric lamp; an electric dynamo; an ore separator; an electric locomotive; the kinetographic camera, which made the first motion picture possible; photographic film for motion camera machines; apparatus for producing very thin sheet metal; a process for constructing concrete buildings; starting and current-supplying systems for automobiles; and receiving apparatus for radio sets. These ideas represent only a part of his enormous output. Edison's inventive fecundity was unique. He released scores of inventions during a period of development, when his country was ready to adopt, expand, and improve them, and in time incorporate them appropriately in industrial production.

During the first third of the twentieth century, American industry was to attain such facility in the fabrication of

commodities, that articles that were at first considered luxuries were brought within the reach of millions of consumers. During the nineteen-twenties American industry decided that efficiency in mass-production was not enough in itself. Industrialists realized that there was a missing technician. Metallurgical experts and chemists could make materials malleable and ductile; but the final form and texture of industrial products were often unconsidered, or determined by engineers whose chief concern was production, who were interested in the nature and operation of tools rather than in what those tools were making.

At first, "stylizers" were employed to impose a final shape on machine-made articles, to improve their proportions, and to give them a modish appearance; but this was just another manifestation of what used to be called "applied art." But at last the missing technician was identified, and he took his place in industry. He was the industrial designer. He was a new type of artist, prepared to study industrial production and machine processes, to investigate the properties of materials, and to relate his creative ideas to the needs of consumers. He was as much a man of business as an accountant; as much of an artist as an architect; a man who, like all real artists, identified himself with contemporary life. He took all branches of industrial production in his stride, like an artist or craftsman of the Italian Renaissance, who was prepared to be an architect, a painter, a jeweller, a sculptor, or an ironworker, as occasion demanded. The industrial designer has assumed a responsibility so wide that his ideas already influence the taste of the general public.

In America, the man who can design a streamlined train, a motor-car body, a gas cooker, a trailer-caravan, an electric iron, or a radio set, is now regularly consulted as a technician—as a qualified engineer, a chemist, an electrical expert or an architect is consulted. The industrial designer

demonstrates America's capacity for giving opportunities to the right men. Designers like Norman Bel Geddes, Walter Dorwin Teague and Raymond Loewy, are controlling the shape and character of all manner of things which affect the everyday life of the people—in their homes, in their cities and towns, and in transport.

In America it is recognized that the new and promising patron of the artist is industry.

Industry has also concerned itself with dramatic art. The film business has been sneered at on the grounds that it is an industry and not an art; but Hollywood speaks with the voice of the twentieth century, and a form of entertainment has been created that is distinctively American. Although brilliant experiments in motion pictures have been made in France, Russia, Germany, and England, the American people, and the peoples of many other countries, derive their principal entertainment from the films that come from Hollywood.

American designers have in the past given gracious and lovely forms to many things; and the shipwrights of the nineteenth century produced those astonishing things of beauty, the tea-clippers. The form of those remarkable sailing-ships was to a great extent controlled by their function; but respect for function alone does not automatically confer the elegance which the tea-clippers possessed, and which the industrial designer to-day has given to motor-cars, aeroplanes and hundreds of other contemporary products.

At the end of the eighteenth century America had not developed any distinct national characteristics in arts or crafts, no revolutionary ideas that could be immediately identified with a new nation. Her shipwrights built the best ships in the world; but her arts and crafts and industries were all derivative. She had a few painters, but John Singleton Copley and Gilbert Stuart went to England

when the Revolution began. (Stuart returned later and painted many portraits.) American painting and literature were influenced by Europe, particularly by England and France. The Republic produced one furniture-maker of genius, Duncan Phyfe. He was a Scotsman who had been trained in English workshops, and who emigrated to America in 1783.

The nineteenth century was not a happy period for the visual arts. Painting, interior decoration, and the design of furniture, glass and fabrics, suffered from the bad taste that prevailed in Europe and Victorian England. Only in literature did America become great and distinctive, finding at length complete national expression through the work of her authors.

The English language to-day is alive and growing in America. It was alive and growing in Elizabethan England. It is used by American writers with exuberant vividness, but there are still many words in current use in the United States which have been discarded in England. New words, and new, picturesque expressions, constantly enrich the common speech of the country; and when English editions of Sinclair Lewis's book, *Babbitt*, first appeared, they were furnished with a glossary for the guidance of readers who were unfamiliar with American-English; but that was before 1927, and since then the talking film has familiarized British audiences with American expressions. (Some of these expressions are re-exports. The term "O.K.," for example, originated in England many years before the 1914-18 German war, and is supposed to have been a printer's abbreviation for the words "Orl Korrekt.")

Although Benjamin Franklin wrote as an American in the eighteenth century, American authors did not develop any recognizable national character until nearly a century after the War of Independence. Washington Irving, Edgar Allan Poe, and Nathaniel Hawthorne, each in their

different ways, were writers whose standards were European, whose methods of expression and whose interpretation of the whole art of writing demonstrated their close kinship with English men of letters.

Washington Irving was born in 1783. In his work he displayed a benign and romantic appreciation of the "good old days" in England and America. *Bracebridge Hall* and *Old Christmas* are idealized pictures of all the features of English country life which appealed to a cultured American gentleman; and they disclosed a love of the antique, a reverential respect for old things, which survive to this day in the United States. Irving's interest in American life was directed to the past, and *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow*, and *Rip Van Winkle*, are the agreeable literary diversions of a polished and witty writer who was at heart an antiquary.

Poe's remarkable genius was not specifically American in form; he was a writer of the first rank, but, save for the setting of a few of his tales, any of them might have been written by an Englishman.

During the nineteenth century, Oliver Wendell Holmes, who wrote *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*, was to perpetuate a tradition of literary elegance which had no connection with the vigorous realities of American life. But the native writers, the men who spoke with the voice of America, whose subject was the life of the new and growing communities, were not immediately acknowledged in their own country.

Mark Twain was regarded as a clown at first, a mere funny man from the West. His sketches, with all their explosive virility, were not thought of as "literature." Bret Harte, another American voice, told his countrymen and the world about the West and the mining communities, and the queer, rough, lovable characters that adorned them. In sketches and verses and stories, he gave English-speaking

people a stimulating glimpse of a new life that was also an intensely primitive life, a life of high-lights and intense shadows, strongly flavoured and adventurous. His books were a stimulating experience for many readers: but writers and critics who still preserved their affiliation with English literature, found such work slightly shocking. Stephen Leacock, in his short, compact and excellent biography of Mark Twain, refers to an address which that young author gave on the occasion of the seventieth birthday celebrations of the poet, Whittier.

"Present were Whittier himself, and Longfellow and Emerson and Holmes and all the great literary lights of Boston, the Magi of the East, refulgent with their own genius and consuming their own smoke. . . . In their eyes and in his own he was not in their class. They were 'authors,' real ones; he was just a rough, cheap westerner."

The genuine American authors had still to break down conservative literary traditions. One of the last American authors to write English literature was Herman Melville, whose *Moby Dick* is one of the great books of the world. But Melville did not write as an American: he had a lordly command of the English language, and was one of the greatest writers who has ever used our tongue.

While English authors were praised and appreciated and revered (including the tactlessly outspoken Charles Dickens), the creators of authentic American literature for years failed to gain respect in their own country. Even Jack London had to fight for his literary life against the polite prejudices that were established so firmly in the minds of American editors and publishers. But a native American literature, unmistakable in character, imaginative and human, did grow up, and enriched the rest of the world. Authors like Joel Chandler Harris, with his nursery tales told through the mouth of the darkie, Uncle Remus, had an enormous vogue outside America. Harriet

Beecher Stowe's great novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, achieved universal fame, and may well claim to be the greatest work of fiction published in the nineteenth century, and the most influential.

Early in the twentieth century, Jack London and William Sidney Porter, who used the pen-name of O. Henry, were each, in their characteristic way, writing stories that could have only been written by Americans. O. Henry's tales of New York, "Baghdad-on-the-subway" as he called it, are a key to the restless, innovating energy of the American mind. Jack London, who may perhaps claim to be the most famous "proletarian" author who has ever lived, wrote with a fierce intensity, and showed phases of American life that shocked and enthralled hundreds of thousands of readers. His novel about labour troubles on the Pacific coast, *The Valley of the Moon*; his socialist propaganda romance, *The Iron Heel*; his animal stories like *The Call of the Wild* and *White Fang*; his tales of the gold rush of ninety-eight to the Klondyke, his pictures of men doing almost impossible jobs under conditions of frightful hardship in the far north, in the south seas, in the far west, show such a range of experience, such a power of observation, and such a potent imagination, that he ranks with Kipling and O. Henry among the great short story writers of the world. Mark Twain, O. Henry and Jack London wrote as Americans, and in their vastly different ways set down so many aspects of the American character that their work demonstrates the incredible versatility of that character.

After the Great War, when America entered upon her phase of tremendous prosperity, writers became more critical. Sinclair Lewis, in a series of savagely realistic novels, castigated the business community, and hammered away at its complacency and attacked its standards. The theme that attracted many writers was the debunking of

their triumphant and prosperous country. That prince of debunkers, H. L. Mencken, lashed his countrymen and their institutions, year after year, as editor of the *American Mercury*, and in those bitter books which he issued periodically under the title of *Prejudices*.

A less critical author, but one who portrayed the ordinary, pleasant, agreeable run of decent American life, was Booth Tarkington, whose stories, particularly about children, showed the home life of America in its pleasantest colours.

Contemporary American writers never spare their country's shortcomings, whether they happen to be ruthless realists like John Steinbeck, who drew such a searing picture of one aspect of American life, in *The Grapes of Wrath*; or Erskine Caldwell, who wrote *Tobacco Road*. Plays like Sidney Kingsley's *Dead End* are indictments of the blind spots in the social and economic system of the United States.

To-day America has a literature that is living, critical and infinitely varied. It reflects the creative genius of the American people, their impatience with static conditions, and their firm belief in human progress. During the nineteen-thirties America had most of the world's gold, more social and economic troubles than she had ever faced before, more enterprise and more courage for meeting them, and, as always, an abundant supply of gifted men with creative minds who tackled their country's problems, inspired by the spirit that delights in experiment, and prompts men to say, "It hasn't been done before, let's try it!" That spirit has been the making of the American nation.

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